DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 095 066 SO 007 699

AUTHOR Gallatin, Judith
TITLE The Development of Political Thinking in Urban Adolescents.
SPONS AGENCY National Center for Educational Research and Development (DHEW/OE), Washington, D.C.
BUREAU NO BR-0-0554
PUB DATE 1 Dec 72
GRANT OEG-5-70-0032(508)
NOTE 177p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.75 HC-$9.00 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS *Adolescence; Age Differences; Changing Attitudes; *Cognitive Development; Educational Research; Government (Administrative Body); Grade 6; Grade 8; Grade 10; Grade 12; Individual Development; Laws; Police; *Political Attitudes; Political Issues; *Political Socialization; School Role; Sex Differences; Social Problems; *Urban Youth

ABSTRACT

The development of political thinking during adolescence was studied by interviewing 463 suburban and urban schoolchildren of average intelligence in grades 6, 8, 10, and 12. Each subject was interviewed individually by means of a Piaget-type questionnaire. Analysis of the questionnaire responses revealed a very distinctive developmental pattern. Younger subjects tended to have an authoritarian and restrictive concept of government and were largely unaware of broader political issues. Older subjects had a much more facilitative and democratic view of government and were relatively sophisticated about political problems. There was also, however, some evidence of increased political alienation with increasing age. Although there were minor sex, race, and area differences, the developmental differences were far more striking, appearing on almost every item of the questionnaire. The author concludes that except for being somewhat uninformed about the functioning of political parties, the average 12th grader is well-equipped to exercise his franchise. It is suggested that the public school system may play an important role in bringing about the observed results. (Author)

ED 095066

FINAL REPORT
Project No. 0-0554
Grant No. OEG-5-70-0032-(508)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL THINKING IN URBAN ADOLESCENTS

Judith Gallatin
Eastern Michigan University
Ypsilanti, Michigan 48197

December 1, 1972

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a grant with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
National Center for Educational
Research and Development

SP 007 699

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to acknowledge the contributions of Dr. Joseph Adelson, co-principal investigator, Dr. Robert O'Neil, co-investigator, and Dr. LaMar Miller, Consultant.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ii

ABSTRACT..... iv

LIST OF TABLES..... v

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION..... 1

II. METHODS SECTION..... 11

III. RESULTS (OLD QUESTIONS)..... 14

IV. RESULTS (NEW QUESTIONS)..... 70

V. A CONSIDERATION OF OTHER VARIABLES..... 130

VI. DISCUSSION..... 143

VII. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS..... 151

APPENDICES..... 156

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 166

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	An Example of the Patterning of "Don't Know" Responses by age (Question 25)	16
2	Responses to Question 1 by age (In Percentages): What are the advantages of all the people meeting?	19
3	Responses to Question 1 by age (In Percentages): What are the disadvantages of all people meeting?	20
4	Responses to Question 1 by age (In Percentages): What are the advantages of a Representative Government?	21
5	Responses to Question 1 by age (In Percentages): What are the disadvantages of a Representative Government?	22
6	Responses to Question 1 by age (In Percentages): What are the advantages of one man rule?	23
7	Responses to Question 1 by age (In Percentages): What are the disadvantages of one man rule?	24
8	Responses to Question 2 by age (In Percentages): What is the best form of Government?	25
9	Responses to Question 3 by age (In Percentages): What is the worst form of Government?	26
10	Responses to Question 7 by age (In Percentages); How to protect the interests of a Minority Group?	27
11	Responses to Question 8 by age (In Percentages): Are many laws or few laws needed in society?	30
12	Responses to Question 8a by age (In Percentages): What is the purpose of a Government?	31
13	Responses to Question 9 by age (In Percentages): What is the purpose of laws?	32
14	Responses to Question 10 by age (In Percentages): What would happen if there weren't any laws?	33
15	Responses to Question 12 by age (In Percentages): What is the difference between law abiding people and those who get into trouble?	34

Table		Page
16	Responses to Question 13 by age (In Percentages): Why do people get into trouble with the law?	35
17	Responses to Question 42 by age (In Percentages): Should the Government forbid smoking or not?	36
18	Responses to Question 45 by age (In Percentages): What should they do in the case of enforcing the law to forbid smoking? (Arguments in favor of enforcement) . . .	37
19	Responses to Question 45 by age (In Percentages): What should they do in the case of enforcing the law to forbid smoking? (Responses favoring abolition)	38
20	Responses to Question 45 by age (In Percentages): Smoking Law: Agreement with or Disagreement?	39
21	Responses to Question 14 by age (In Percentages): What is the purpose of education?	44
22	Responses to Question 18 by age (In Percentages): What is the purpose of Universal Vaccination?	45
23	Responses to Question 26 by age (In Percentages): What does s. think of law requiring men over 45 to have a yearly medical exam?	46
24	Responses to Question 27 by age (In Percentages): Arguments for law requiring painting of houses every five years . . .	47
25	Responses to Question 27ag by age (In Percentages): Arguments against law requiring painting of houses every five years .	48
26	Responses to Question 29 by age (In Percentages): Should laws (Such as those guaranteeing freedom of speech) change or remain the same?	49
27	Responses to Question 30 by age (In Percentages): What kinds of laws should be permanent?	50
28	Responses to Question 31 by age (In Percentages): Should civil liberties be suspended during a crisis?	51
29	Responses to Question 20 by age (In Percentages): What to do about conscientious objectors who refuse vaccination? .	52
30	Responses to Question 48 by age (In Percentages): What to do about the farmer who refused to sell his land to the State for a highway	53
31	Responses to Question 32 by age (In Percentages): What would be the best way of makeing sure that elected Council Members were representative of island as a whole?	58

Table		Page
32	Responses to Question 33 by age (In Percentages): Why was it that Political Parties did emerge?	59
33	Responses to Question 34 by age (In Percentages): What is the purpose of Political Parties?	60
34	Responses to Question 35 by age (In Percentages): Do you think we could get along without Poltical Parties (why or why not?)	61
35	Responses to Question 36 by age (In Percentages): What are the advantages of having Political Parties?	62
36	Responses to Question 37 by age (In Percentages): What are the disadvantages of Political Parties?	63
37	Responses to Question 38 by age (In Percentages): What do you think those two Parties stood for?	64
38	Responses to Question 39 by age (In Percentages): In your opinion is there much difference between Political Parties?	65
39	Responses to Question 40 by age (In Percentages): What would you look for in a candidate?	66
40	Responses to Question 41 by age (In Percentages): Would you vote for a qualified man who didn't agree with you, or one who wasn't as well qualified and held you views? .	67
41	Responses to Question 53 by age (In Percentages): What should be done with the lazy thief?	72
42	Responses to Question 54 by age (In Percentages): What would be the best reason for putting people who commit crimes in jail?	73
43	Responses to Question 54 by age (In Percentages): What would be the best reason against putting people who commit crimes in jail?	74
44	Responses to Question 55 by age (In Percentages): What would be the best way to teach people not to commit crimes?	75
45	Responses to Question 56 by age (In Percentages): Why do people who go to jail usually commit crimes again? . . .	76
46	Responses to Question 57 by age (In Percentages): Do you think it would be possible to eliminate crime altogether from the island?	77

Table		Page
47	Responses to Question 57 by age (In Percentages): Do you think it would be possible to eliminate crime altogether from the island?	78
48	Responses to Question 58 by age (In Percentages): If you had the power to take whatever actions you thought were necessary, what would you do to reduce or eliminate crime?	79
49	Responses to Question D12 by age (In Percentages): Why teenagers got into trouble with the police?	80
50	Responses to Question D13 by age (In Percentages): What can be done about juvenile delinquents?	81
51	Responses to Question D14 by age (In Percentages): What ought to be done with juvenile delinquents?	82
52	Responses to Question D3 by age (In Percentages): What to do about people who won't pick up their trash?	85
53	Responses to Question D4 by age (In Percentages): Why some people don't like to pick up trash?	86
54	Responses to Question D15 by age (In Percentages): Why some people are poorer than others?	87
55	Responses to Question D16 by age (In Percentages): What to do about the man who could not hold a job?	88
56	Responses to Question D17 by age (In Percentages): What should they do about him?	89
57	Responses to Question D18 by age (In Percentages): What do you think should happen to his family?	90
58	Responses to Question 28a by age (In Percentages): What to do about poor families who can't afford health care? . .	91
59	Responses to Question 57a by age (In Percentages): Do you think it would ever be possible to eliminate poverty? . .	92
60	Responses to Question D5 by age (In Percentages): What kind of people wanted to become policemen?	95
61	Responses to Question D6 by age (In Percentages): What kind of people want to become policemen in our society?	96
62	Responses to Question D7 by age (In Percentages): Why people didn't want to become policemen?	97

Table		Page
63	Responses to Question D8 by age (In Percentages): Why there had to be rules for how the policeman should behave?	98
64	Responses to Question D9 by age (In Percentages): What rules should there be for policement?	99
65	Responses to Question D10 by age (In Percentages): Why people don't like the police?	100
66	Responses to Question D11 by age (In Percentages): What can be done to make people cooperate more with the police?	101
67	Responses to Question D19 by age (In Percentages): What sorts of people should be allowed in?	105
68	Responses to Question D21 by age (In Percentages): What people should be kept off the island?	106
69	Responses to Question D22 by age (In Percentages): Should the new settlers be the same as or different from the old ones?	107
70	Responses to Question D22 by age (In Percentages): Should new settlers be the same or different: Further breakdown of "same" responses.	108
71	Responses to Question D22 by age (In Percentages): Should new settlers be the same or different: Futher breakdown of "different" responses.	109
72	Responses to Question D22 by age (In Percentages): Should new settlers be the same or different from the originals?	110
73	Responses to Question 62 by age (In Percentages): What sort of people became respected in the community?	111
74	Responses to Question 62a by age (In Percentages): What kind of jobs do people of this sort usually have?	112
75	Responses to Question 62b by age (In Percentages): What kind of personalities do these people usually have?	113
76	Responses to Question D22a by age (In Percentages): Will it ever be possible to eliminate racial prejudice? Yes vs. no responses.	114
77	Responses to Question D22a by age (In Percentages): Will it ever be possible to eliminate racial prejudice? No answers.	115

Table		Page
78	Responses to Question D23 by age (In Percentages): Do you think that only the important people are listened to in our society? ("yes" and "no" answers)	118
79	Responses to Question D23 by age (In Percentages): Do you think that only the important people are listened to in society?	119
80	Responses to Question D24 by age (In Percentages): What can be done about an unresponsive council?	120
81	Responses to Question D25 by age (In Percentages): If a group of people wanted to influence the Mayor or the City of Detroit, what would be the best way to do it? . .	121
82	Responses to Question D26 by age (In Percentages): Do you think a dissatisfied group would be successful?	122
83	Responses to Question D27 by age (In Percentages): What could they do about the 10% of the people who felt they had no say in the Government?	123
84	Responses to Question D28 by age (In Percentages): Whether or not a sit-in should be staged?	124
85	Responses to Question D29 by age (In Percentages): What should the Government do in the case of a sit-in?	125
86	Level of Response by age (In Percentages)	127
88	Level of Response by sex (In Percentages)	130
87	Responses to Question D8 by sex (In Percentages): Why there had to be rules for how the policemen should behave?	131
89	Responses to Question D5 by sex (In Percentages): What kind of people wanted to become policemen?	132
90	Responses to Question D6 by area (In Percentages): What kind of people want to become policemen in our society?	133
91	Level of Response by area (In Percentages)	134
92	Responses to Question 36 by race (In Percentages): What are the advantages of having Political Parties?	135
93	Level of response by race (In Percentages)	136
94	Responses to Question D5 by race (In Percentages): What kind of people wanted to become policemen?	138

Table		Page
95	Responses to Question D6 by race (In Percentages): What kind of people want to become policemen in our society?	139
96	Responses to Question D25 by race (In Percentages): If a group of people wanted to influence the Mayor or the City of Detroit, what would be the best way to do it? . .	140
97	Responses to Question D29[2] by race (In Percentages): What should the Government do in the case of a sit-in? Mention of Possibility of violence	141
98	Responses to Question D26 by race (In Percentages): Do you think a dissatisfied group would be successful? . . .	142
99	Responses to Question 57a by race (In Percentages): Do you think it would ever be possible to eliminate crime altogether from the island?	146
100	Responses to Question 57 by race (In Percentages): Do you think it would ever be possible to eliminate crime altogether from the island?	147
101	Responses to Question D22a by race (In Percentages): Will it ever be possible to eliminate racial prejudices? . . .	148

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Chapter I

Introduction

In the summer of 1969 the authors of this report submitted a proposal to study the development of political thinking among black and white adolescents, a proposal which was ultimately funded beginning in June of 1970. Three years have passed since our original submission, and the political status of the young has altered markedly. In 1969 a Constitutional Amendment lowering the voting age to 18 was a much discussed possibility. In 1972 it is a reality. Similarly, our home state of Michigan has lowered the Age of Majority to 18, a trend which seems likely to be emulated elsewhere. Not surprisingly, the new class of young citizens have excited a great deal of interest. There is considerable speculation about how they will meet their new responsibilities --what proportion of them will actually exercise the franchise, whether they will run for political office. Their probable affiliations and impact are also a subject of debate. Will they throw their support to one or the other of two established parties? Will there be a disproportionate number of Independents and ticket-splitters among them? Or will they form a nucleus for a third party?

Though we are intrigued by questions like these, our project has been devoted to examining one which is even more fundamental: the process by which political thinking itself evolves. Paradoxically, this more basic issue has not inspired much research, a fact which was lamented some time ago (1959) by the eminent political scientist Herbert Hyman. In his pioneering work on political socialization, he remarked:

> What a strange imbalance we find today! Political behavior is seen as determined by all sorts of motivational and emotional factors operating through complicated psychodynamic processes. Certainly such behavior is full of purpose and direction, but it is guided, if only imperfectly, by reason, knowledge, judgment, intelligence. Men are urged to certain ends but the political scene in which they act is perceived and given meaning. Some cognitive map accompanies their movements toward their ends. The role of cognitive processes must be reinstated as a necessary counterbalance to the distorted analyses of political behavior (Hyman, pp. 18-19).

Curiously, Hyman himself did little to redress the balance. His was a rather global orientation--he studied the development of partisanship by comparing the affiliations of younger voters with their parents--and the handful of researchers who subsequently addressed themselves to children and adolescents seem for the most part, to have emulated him. Indeed, in order to put our own study in perspective, it would be useful at this point to offer a brief review of previous research.

Research with children

Greenstein (1965), Easton and Hess (1962), and Hess and Torney (1967) studied school children in grades 2 through 8 and came to rather similar conclusions: political thinking during childhood remains amorphous and uncritical. Greenstein specifically characterizes the child's grasp of political issues as "affective" rather than "cognitive." Presumably what he means by this is that children tend to develop strong feelings about government long before they are capable of understanding how the political system actually functions. The typical second grader in Greenstein's study, for example, realized that there was a President of the United States and expressed warm approval for him but demonstrated only the most shadowy impression of what the President actually did. Generally, very young children were also able to identify which political party their parents belonged to, voicing strong approval for it as well. But they were totally unable to describe the differences in ideology which might distinguish a Democrat from a Republican. Actual comprehension of the political system began to appear only among the much older seventh and eighth graders, leading Greenstein to speculate about some sort of "cognitive maturation."

Overall, however, he was struck by the overwhelmingly positive image of government which emerged from his interviews. Even the very oldest subjects evinced little of the cynicism about politics which is supposed to be characteristic of adults. Greenstein explained this finding by identifying parental influence as the major factor in political learning--a theory which had already been advanced by Hyman (1959). The child, Greenstein argued, absorbs his parents' affiliations and allegiances, tending to echo them uncritically. Hence, upon learning that political leaders exist, he tends to regard them in much the same light as his parents--as powerful but benevolent authorities. Easton and Hess (1965) originally reached similar conclusions about the role of parents in determining attitudes toward government. After surveying a sample of children in grades 2 through 8, they too reasoned that as a result of equating political authorities with his own parents, the child develops and maintains a strikingly positive opinion of government. In any case, the eighth graders in their study, like the eighth graders in Greenstein's appeared to retain a remarkable degree of trust in the political system--at least in comparison to adults.

However, in a slightly later investigation Hess and his associate Torney (1967) challenged these assumptions about "parental influence" and cynicism." In one of the most comprehensive studies with children to date, they examined not only the effects of age on political development but the effects of sex, intelligence, and social class as well. Employing a sample of 12,000 school children, again second through eighth graders, in a number of metropolitan and suburban areas, the researchers observed, like Greenstein, that older children were far more aware of

and articulate about political issues than younger children. However, older children were also far less naively trusting. Second graders for instance were likely to believe that the President would personally intervene to help them if they were in trouble. Eighth graders were far less sanguine. Moreover, Hess and Torney argued that teachers rather than parents play the largest role in shaping political attitudes. By way of supporting this assertion, Hess and Torney noted that when they compared responses of children from the same family, the correlations were only moderately positive. Furthermore, as they progressed from the second to the eighth grade, the children's attitudes began to resemble those of a sample of teachers more and more closely.

In addition, Hess and Torney observed that brighter children were more knowledgeable about government than those of average or low intelligence. The same relationship held for higher status children when compared with lower status children. And with regard to sex differences, boys tended to be more politically aware and sophisticated than girls.

Research with adolescents: attitude surveys

Actually, as Connell (1970, 1971) has pointed out, the few social scientists who have devoted themselves to the study of political thinking in childhood have, for the most part, adopted the time-honored and traditional methods: large samples, group administered tests, forced-choice questions. With the exception of our own research and Connell's, studies with adolescents--no more numerous than those with children--have taken the same form: the large-scale attitude survey.

Perhaps one reason that political development in childhood and adolescence has received so little attention is the assumption that politics is an area of low salience for most young people. Studies of young adults (Campbell, 1960; Lane, 1962) have revealed a conspicuous lack of interest in political issues--a disinterest which may or may not have diminished in today's more "activist" climate. Nor have they been as likely as older voters to exercise their right of franchise. Nonetheless, there are some data to suggest that whether or not teenagers develop a consuming interest in politics, they tend to hold increasingly liberal views as they mature. Remmers and Radler (1957) report that the teenagers in their nation-wide survey became less "authoritarian" between ninth and twelfth grade, less likely, that is, to agree with a statement like, "The greatest threat to democracy in the United States comes from foreign ideas and foreign groups." Lane (1959), who approached the issue of liberalism from a different perspective, reports a finding which indirectly corroborates Remmers and Radler. Reviewing the results of a national poll carried out by the American Institute of Public Opinion, he notes that young adults in the 18-21 age range are slightly more likely to hold liberal opinions than older individuals.

However, except for such rather global shifts in attitudes, researchers who have employed the large-sample, paper-and-pencil-questionnaire method have found little evidence of any increase in political sophistication during adolescence. Indeed, Easton and Hess (1961, 1962) speculate that political socialization is more-or-less completed during early adolescence. The individual, they declare, may add to his store of political information after this age, but his basic values are not likely to change. And there is some evidence that the youngster does not even acquire more information about politics during the latter part of adolescence. Jennings and his associates (Jennings and Niemi; 1968; Langton and Jennings, 1968) carried out a very large-scale survey which included some items to test for general information (e.g., whether the subjects knew how many senators there were, whether they could identify the mayor of their city, and so forth). They concluded--apparently somewhat disconcerted--that twelfth graders were not significantly more knowledgeable than ninth graders.

Research with adolescents: studies of cognitive development

Nonetheless, at the time we embarked on the present study, we had begun to wonder whether such conclusions were warranted--and whether the large sample attitude survey with its inevitable forced-choice format was the most appropriate method for investigating the development of political thinking. In the related area of moral development, Piaget (1932) and Kohlberg (1964, 1969), had uncovered some very considerable changes in ideation during childhood and adolescence. In addition, we ourselves had performed a set of studies which had yielded results markedly different from those of Easton and Hess and the "Jennings group." Indeed, as might have been expected, the most important source of background for the present project was our own previous research.

We should add that other investigators, particularly those who had worked with primary school populations, had provided us with a useful observation: the psychologist who intended to study the development of political ideation would be well-advised to concentrate on adolescents rather than children. For instance, Greenstein's pioneering work with grade-schoolers had led him to remark that "the inability of young children to think abstractly is a major restraint upon the development of issues or ideological orientations during pre-adolescence... the capacity to evaluate issues and to develop internally consistent patterns of evaluation should be positively correlated with measures of general ability to use abstractions." In other words, politics is a subject which requires the mastery of certain abstract principles. Since the capacity to master abstractions does not typically appear much before the beginning of adolescence (Inhelder and Piaget, 1958), preadolescent children could not be expected to demonstrate either much interest in or understanding of political matters.

Taking such cognitive variables into account, several members of our present research group began a series of exploratory studies in the early 1960's. To insure that our subjects would have the requisite intellectual skills, we limited our investigation to older pre-adolescents and adolescents. Subjects were drawn from three countries (America, England, and Germany) and four different age groups (11, 13, 15, and 18) with an equal number of boys and girls. Two-thirds of the sample was of average intelligence (95-110) and one-third superior (125 and above). The subjects were interviewed individually and told to imagine that 1,000 people had become dissatisfied with their government and moved to an island. They were then asked to provide solutions for various problems these hypothetical thousand faced (schooling, medical care, taxation, form of government, crime legislative process, and so forth).

Working only with the 120 American subjects, Adelson and O'Neil, (1966) observed the following pattern of political development. The eleven year olds tended to have naive and cognitively concrete views of government. Rather than conceptualizing it as an abstract entity, they tended to envision it in terms of a number of specific services. Their concept of government was, moreover, authoritarian. In a section of the interview designed to investigate attitudes toward law, for instance, the subjects were confronted with the dilemma of how to deal with a regulation against smoking which had failed. The eleven year olds were in favor of enforcing it regardless. The thirteen year olds were the most variable group, teetering on the brink of abstraction in some areas, remaining concrete in others. In this group a budding sense of community seemed to be emerging. Instead of viewing the government as a parent-surrogate possessing absolute power, they had begun to envision the government as an ally which had been delegated authority in return for certain services. The development of the sense of community was extended among the fifteen year olds. Though not always successful, this age group generally attempted to justify their solutions to political problems by appealing to certain principles; e.g., individual freedom or public welfare. They also demonstrated a more flexible time perspective than the younger subjects; recognizing, for instance, the need to provide machinery for legislation in accordance with the changing requirements of society. These gains in the mastery of political concepts were consolidated in the eighteen year old group. With these youngsters there was an increased awareness of political issues and emerging sense of political ideology. Overall, the development of political thinking seemed to be accompanied by a growing sense of the community at large, an increasing concern for individual rights, and a greater ability to distinguish between the legitimate and the arbitrary. Interestingly enough, there were few significant differences which could be attributed to sex, social class, or intelligence.

In two subsequent articles, Gallatin and Adelson (1970, 1971) provided cross-cultural data, analyzing the British and German samples as well as the American group. They found that the developmental pattern described above was considerably more marked in the American group. They were, for instance, more likely to approve certain governmental services with the comment that the community as a whole would benefit. At the same time, they were more insistent than either the German or British subjects on providing permanent guarantees of certain individual freedoms. Again few significant differences attributable to sex, social class, or intelligence were observed.

However, though our results were clear-cut--the pattern of political development for American youngsters was quite distinctive--we considered these studies essentially exploratory. The American sample was relatively small (120 subjects in all) and drawn from a markedly upper class university community. Furthermore, we had collected our data in the early 1960's, during an era which was much less turbulent and "activist" than the present one. Accordingly, we proposed in our initial application to the Office of Education to study a larger and more typical suburban sample and a metropolitan sample of comparable size. In addition, we suggested revising our original interview in order to take account of some of the more pressing contemporary issues (e.g., civil disobedience, police-community relations, and poverty).

Related research with black adolescents

There was, of course, an even more important reason to plan a new study. In the late 1960's research on the development of black youngsters was proliferating at an impressive rate, but there was very little which bore directly on the development of political thinking among blacks. Traditionally, of course, the political status of the Negro has been markedly disadvantaged. Throughout a considerable part of his history he has been barred outright from voting, and even when not formally disenfranchised, he has frequently been intimated or coerced into voting against his interest (Rose, 1964). Political researchers were consequently inclined to characterize black youngsters as "political isolates"--outside the mainstream of the American governmental system (Hess and Torney, 1967; Dawson and Pruitt, 1969). This sort of speculation was borne out to some extent in a study by Langton and Jennings (1968), one of the very few to investigate political socialization among blacks directly. On the basis of a nationwide survey of high school seniors, Langton and Jennings concluded that black students knew less about government than white students and had a weaker sense of political efficacy.

But what was yet to be assessed in the late 1960's was the impact of certain political events. We wondered whether the growing emphasis on black pride and Black Power--indeed the actual election and appointment of blacks to many governmental posts--had begun to counteract

traditional feelings of powerlessness and to create a stronger sense of political efficacy among the young. Therefore, in widening the scope of our exploratory work on political thinking, we considered it vital to study a group of black adolescents.

A note on methodology

In the actual planning of our large scale project, we were faced with a critical methodological issue. The interview we had employed in our previous studies was individually administered and tape-recorded, a time-consuming procedure which effectively limited the number of subjects we could observe. Consequently, we had to decide whether to modify our technique--possibly developing a paper-and-pencil attitude survey instead--or retain our face-to-face approach. For a number of reasons we elected to retain our intensive interview. Indeed, it is useful at this point to quote at length our original proposal:

> One of the critical problems in any study of this sort is deciding what method to employ. The approach adopted by Hess and Torney in studying the growth of political attitudes--namely, administering a paper and pencil questionnaire to a very large number of subjects--is undoubtedly an attractive one. The paper and pencil survey has a number of virtues. It can be administered to a large group of subjects simultaneously. The personnel who administer it need not undergo extensive briefing. And it can be analyzed by means of a standardized code. However, we intend, in the proposed study to go beyond the study of political attitudes and trace the development of political thinking. Consequently, we believe it would be more appropriate to conduct individual interviews with a relatively small number of subjects. Though the interview requires a larger investment of time per subject than the paper and pencil survey and can be more difficult to code, it provides, in our view, a far more comprehensive picture of the cognitive processes which underlie the development of political thinking.
>
> The questions which can be included in a standardized, group-administered questionnaire are of necessity somewhat restricted. One can learn whether or not a subject agrees with the statement, "Is what goes on in government all for the best?" However, one can much less readily ascertain the full range of responses to a more open-ended and far more fundamental question like, "What is the purpose of government?" And it is virtually impossible to present a subject with opposing sides of a particular issue and ask him to discuss the merits of each.

> Yet, these are the very questions we need to ask in order to determine how the adolescent's grasp of political principles matures. Indeed, one of us has suggested that the failure to ask such questions constitutes one of the weaknesses of the Hess and Torney study. It is evident from Hess and Torney's research that the youngster has acquired a good many facts about government (e.g., who the President is, which political party is which) by the time he reaches eighth grade, but because of their reliance on an attitude survey, we know little about the average eighth grader's comprehension of political concepts (e.g., the purpose of law, the nature of justice, and so forth.)

Since we prepared our original application, our criticisms of attitude surveys have been echoed by other researchers. The Australian researcher Connell (1970) and his associate Goot (Connell and Goot, 1971) have argued that in addition to being superficial, attitude surveys of children and adolescents tend to be biased as well. The kinds of questions which are posed, they contend, are for the most part highly unrealistic ("If the President came to your town to give prizes to the two grown-ups who were the best citizens, which grown-ups would he choose. Put an X beside the two he would choose as the best citizens." is a typical item from the Hess and Torney study). Furthermore, because it provides only a fixed set of answers, the attitude survey may force subjects to respond in a particular way, thus making them appear to hold opinions which they do not actually hold. Connell and Goot suggest that this is particularly likely to happen with children, who tend to regard all paper and pencil exercises as tests. Rather than answering honestly, they are inclined to guess at what they think the examiner would consider the "best answer".

In his own research, on the political development of Australian schoolchildren, Connell has employed an open-ended interview very similar to our own and believes that it is far superior to any standardized attitude survey. On the basis of our results thus far, we too are convinced that we have obtained data on political thinking which could not have been provided by a group-administered paper-and-pencil instrument.

Hypotheses

Though we had a definite theoretical framework to guide our investigation into political thinking, we had no specific set of hypotheses per se. In a sense, however, the study we proposed was a validation study since we were interested in determining whether the pattern of political development we had observed in our exploratory research (Adelson and O'Neil, 1966; Adelson, Green, and O'Neil, 1969; Gallatin and Adelson, 1970; Gallatin and Adelson, 1971) would emerge once again in a different sample, with a somewhat altered instrument,

at a different point in time. Hence, some of the questions we posed as we embarked on the project were as follows:

1. What form of government do black and white adolescents in metropolitan and suburban areas favor at various stages in their development?

2. How do ideas regarding law and order develop among these adolescents?

3. How do views regarding such issues as public welfare, minority rights, freedom of speech, and crime prevention develop among these adolescents?

4. How do these adolescents define the role of political parties?

5. What are the views of these adolescents regarding such especially pressing issues as civil disobedience and police-community relations?

Anticipated contribution to education

We anticipated that the research we proposed would provide educators with a good deal of useful data--especially since we were concerned more with cognition than attitudes. In our original proposal we outlined what we considered to be some of the most important contributions to education:

> Despite the voluminous literature on the development of cognitive abilities during childhood, we know surprisingly little about cognitive development during adolescence. Piaget himself has devoted one major study to the subject (Inhelder and Piaget, 1958), and with the exception of a few researchers like Elkind (1968), Kohlberg (1964), and the authors of the present proposal, American psychologists have shown a corresponding lack of interest. This creates a rather curious situation for educators charged with designing the high school curriculum--who are called upon to design programs for adolescents without knowing a great deal about their special capabilities or weaknesses. And if we know little about the course of cognitive growth during adolescence generally, we know even less about such development among black adolescents. There is a considerable body of research which testifies to the special needs of black adolescents, but virtually no systematic study of their cognitive development. Since the proposed research is essentially a study of cognitive development during adolescence, and since it is designed to study both black and white adolescents, it should provide some much-needed insights into adolescent thinking.

Furthermore, since the present research proposes to study a particular area of cognitive development, namely the growth of political ideation, it should have important implications specifically for the social studies curriculum. As an example of the way in which our findings might be useful, let us consider the present social studies curriculum of the typical American high school. Courses in American History and Civics are usually mandatory. There is however, some evidence that these courses are not as effective as they might be. The findings of Langton and Jennings (1968) have already been cited. While Civics and American History courses may benefit black high school students to some extent, they do not appear to teach the typical white high school student anything he has not already learned from earlier instruction. Since our research has shown that the political thinking of the adolescent matures to a considerable extent during high school, the ineffectiveness of the social studies curriculum is particularly baffling. Why is it that the typical high school student apparently gains so little from "Civics" or "American History?"

Part of the answer may lie with the way in which Langton and Jennings conducted their study. They were interested in determining whether the high school student acquires significantly more information about government between ninth and twelfth grade and not in determining how ninth and twelfth graders might differ in their ability to use information they had already learned. For instance, ninth graders and twelfth graders might not differ significantly in their ability to recall how many years a U.S. senator serves (Langton and Jennings, 1968), but they might differ considerably in listing qualities they personally would look for in a candidate for higher office.

Having thus provided the background and rationale for an in-depth exploration of political thinking, we were ready to embark on the present study. The next section describes our methodology.

Chapter II

METHODS SECTION

General Design

Sample

Our research design called for interviews with 480 grade school and high school students. These students were to be drawn from the metropolitan Detroit area and a suburb near Detroit, Ypsilanti. The metropolitan and suburban samples were to consist of 240 subjects each: 120 of them black, 120 of them white. In each of the black and white subsamples there were to be 30 sixth graders, 30 eighth graders, 30 tenth graders, and 30 twelfth graders, evenly divided between boys and girls. In view of the fact that there had been very few significant differences between average and bright subjects in any of our previous research, we suggested that all subjects be of average intelligence. (We reasoned that any attempt to match for social class would seriously distort our black sample and consequently proposed that no attempt be made to control for this variable.) To summarize, we proposed to interview 480 subjects of average intelligence: 240 from a metropolitan area, 240 from a suburban area; 240 whites, 240 blacks; 240 males, 240 females; 120 sixth graders, 120 eighth graders, 120 tenth graders, and 120 twelfth graders.

The actual sample resembled these specifications very closely. By the time we had exhausted the pool of potential subjects, we had interviewed 463 adolescents. For various reasons--lack of cooperation, problems with transcription, interviewer failure--we were compelled to reduce this total by ten. Hence, we ended up with the following actual research population: 231 metropolitan subjects, 222 suburban subjects; 221 blacks, 232 whites; 214 males, 239 females; 119 sixth graders, 112 eighth graders, 115 tenth graders, and 107 twelfth graders. Any concern over social class proved to be largely academic. Using a modified version of the Warner scale, we discovered that our sample was predominantly lower class. Specifically, there were 388 lower class subjects and 51 middle class subjects, the interviewer neglecting to obtain this information in 16 cases.

Sample selection

The schools which agreed to cooperate in the study had I.Q. data available on most of their students, and they permitted us access to it in choosing our subjects. To select the sample we employed a modification of the random sampling procedure. First, we established a series of criterion groups (e.g., all male black sixth graders of average intelligence at a particular school) and then drew our samples at random for these groups. Parental permission slips were secured for all subjects who participated in the study.

Experimental procedure

The instrument we employed was the Desert Island Questionnaire (see Appendix 1), an intensive interview designed to trace the development of political ideas. The interview is similar in format to those used by Piaget (1932) and Kohlberg (1964). It essentially poses a series of hypothetical dilemmas. The subject is asked to imagine that 1,000 men and women have become dissatisfied with their present form of government and have moved to and island in the Pacific in order to set up another. The interview then proceeds to describe various political issues which this imaginary group must resolve and the subject is queried for his opinions and suggestions. The following area are explored:

I. The concepts of law and government: the purpose of law and government, the principle of representation, the relationship between law and morality (Questions 1-13)

II. Various facets of the relationship between individual and state.
   A. Education (Questions 14-17, 24, D2)
   B. Health (Questions 18, 26, 28a)
   C. Religious freedom (Question 20)
   D. Legal guarantees of individual rights (Questions 27, 29-31)
   E. The problem of unenforceable laws (Questions 42, 45)
   F. Individual property rights and eminent domain (Question48-50)

III. Voting and political parties: the purpose of political parties, the concepts of election and representation, the concepts of partisanship and political factions (Questions 32-41)

IV. Contemporary problems of urban government
   A. Welfare and poverty (Questions 23a, D3-D4, D15, 57a)
   B. Police-community relations (Questions D5-D11)
   C. Delinquency (Questions D12-D14)
   D. Unemployment (Questions D16-D18)
   E. Crime and rehabilitation (Questions 53-58)
   F. Class distinctions and discrimination (Questions D19-D22a, 62-62b, 68)
   G. The political process and dissent (Questions D23-D29)

V. The concept of utopia (Questions D1, 69)

In the present study each subject was interviewed individually by a trained interviewer, his responses being tape-recorded and transcribed. In order to minimize any "interviewer effects," black subjects were interviewed by black interviewers and white subjects by white interviewers. The duration of the interviews ranged between 45 minutes and two-and-one-half hours.

Data and Instrumentation

The main source of data was, of course, the Desert Island Questionnaire. Additional data on intelligence were obtained from school files, and social class was determined by having the interviewer ask each subject what his parents did for a living.

Dependent variables. The dependent variable for the study was the development of political thinking. Specifically, we wanted to ascertain how the adolescent's comprehension of traditional political principles (e.g., law, justice, the purpose of government, free speech) evolves over time. We were also interested in determining how his views concerning some of the more contemporary social problems (e.g., poverty, crime, police-community relations, unemployment) develop.

Independent variables. In this study we were especially interested in the effect of variables like age and race on political thinking. However, we considered region, sex, and social class as well.

Analysis

As indicated, the interviews were individually tape-recorded and then transcribed. Once transcription had been completed, a sample of responses to each question of the interview was surveyed--usually 50% of the total responses to that question--and a set of coding categories were constructed. About half of the items on the interview had been employed in previous studies (Adelson and O'Neil, 1966; Adelson, Green, and O'Neil, 1969; Gallatin, 1967; Beall, 1967; Bush, 1970), and there were consequently old codes which could be employed as guidelines. (Nonetheless, many of these required substantial revision.) The remaining items had never been used before and completely new codes were devised for these. The extensive tabular presentations in the Results Section (See Chapters III, IV, and V) should also provide ample illustrations of the sorts of codes we developed. Indeed, we have virtually reproduced the entire codebook in our account of the developmental results.

Reliability. A representative sample of codes--approximately a quarter of the total--were checked for reliability.. Inter-rater reliabilities averaged between 90 and 95 per cent.

Statistical analysis. Since we were working with rather impressionistic data, chi square was deemed to be the most appropriate statistic. Once the codes for each item of the interview had been constructed, chi squares were calculated by age, race, sex, area, and social class. We had originally planned to perform a non-parametric analysis of variance as well. However, as will be seen in the following sections, the results were so clear-cut--i.e., there were so many highly significant age comparisons relative to any of the other variables--that this was deemed unnecessary.

Chapter III

RESULTS
("OLD QUESTIONS)

In presenting our results we are confronted with a somewhat unusual problem. Most researchers find themselves reporting fewer significant results than expected. In the case of the present project, the problem is exactly the opposite. We have so many significant results to review that it is difficult to provide a comprehensive account. There were 78 items on the Desert Island Questionnaire, and we developed 114 codes. We computed chi squares on all but 2 of these codes for all five dependent variables (age, race, sex, area, and social class), making a total of 560. Of these comparisons, 181 were significant at the .05 level or below. (If we include comparisons that were significant at the .10 level or below, the number rises to an even more staggering 225.) Fortunately, for purposes of exposition, one variable, age, accounted for more than half of the significant chi squares, 92 in all. There were roughly the same number of significant comparisons for both race and area--31 and 33 respectively. Sex accounted for a more modest 21 and social class a nearly negligible 4. (Of course, this last result was to be expected since we had an almost homogeneous sample with respect to social class.) Indeed, so striking were the developmental differences--81 of the 92 significant chi squares exceeded the .001 level--that we decided not to perform a non-parametric analysis of variance. It was evident simply by inspection that the main source of variance was age, followed by race and area, sex, and finally social class.

Consequently, in summarizing the results, we propose to concentrate on the developmental differences and deal with the other variables in a more abbreviated fashion.

Some Orienting Remarks

As noted earlier, we did not entertain any specific hypotheses in conducting our study. Nonetheless, the vast number of significant age differences was not totally unexpected. In our previous research (Adelson, and O'Neil, 1966; Adelson, Green, and O'Neil, 1969; Gallatin and Adelson, 1970; Gallatin and Adelson, 1971) as well as in a number of related doctoral dissertations (Beall, 1967; Gallatin, 1967; Bush, 1970) this was the general pattern, i.e., significant age differences on most of the items in the Desert Island Questionnaire. In fact, we have these earlier investigations which provide us with a useful framework for interpreting our present study. Comparing our previous results with the present set permits us to draw the following conclusions:

1. There is a distinctive pattern to the development of political thinking, a pattern which transcends the variables of race, urban setting, sex and social class.

2. The pattern which emerges from our current study is very similar to that which emerged from our previous work, most of which was based on a sample of adolescents interviewed in 1963. Since our present sample (predominately lower class, of average intelligence, with roughly an equal number of blacks and whites) is quite different from our previous one (substantially middle class, two-thirds of average intelligence, and one third bright, drawn from three different nationalities), we regard this similarity as particularly impressive.

3. This pattern appears both in response to what we might call classical issues in politics (e.g., what is the purpose of laws) and the more "topical issues" (e.g., why don't some people want to co-operate with the police).

RESULTS SECTION

Presentation of the Developmental Results

As noted in the Methods Section, the interview we employed dealt with five major areas of politics: The Concepts of Law and Government, The Relationship between the Individual and State, The Purpose and Functioning of Political Parties, Contemporary Problems of Urban Government, and The Concept of Utopia. Since the codes for the questions on Utopia were unusually complicated and intricate, we will omit that portion of the interview from our presentation of the developmental results and concentrate on the first four topics[1].

We propose to divide our review into two sections, discussing the topics of Government and Law, Individual and State, and Political Parties in one and devoting the other to an examination of Contemporary Problems. Although it might seem to be, this is by no means an entirely arbitrary division of the developmental data. In our revised edition of the Desert Island Questionnaire, the items on Law and Government, Individual and State, and Political Parties are essentially "old" questions--i.e., those which have been employed in previous studies (Adelson and O'Neil, 1966; Adelson, Green, and O'Neil, 1969; Gallatin, 1967; Beall, 1967; Bush, 1970; Gallatin and Adelson, 1970; Gallatin and Adelson, 1971). Consequently, for these items we have a body of earlier work to refer to. This is not true for the most part of the section of the interview devoted to Contemporary Problems. The items included under this heading

---

[1]Dr. Adelson, co-investigator for the present study is preparing a separate paper on the Utopia items.

are largely "new items"--i.e., they were designed specifically for the present study. Though we will show that the response to these "untried" questions closely resembles the response to the "old" questions, we believe it makes sense to discuss them separately.

The General Format of the Developmental Results

We discovered that the vast majority of interview items could be coded into six or fewer categories, with the exception of "don't knows" and a small percentage of miscellaneous responses. These "other" responses rarely constituted as many as 10% of the total to any particular item, and consequently, they have been excluded from all the calculations and tables presented in this report. The "don't knows" which have also been excluded from our chi square comparisons are more variable. This type of response usually comprised a small percentage of the total (i.e., less than 10%) and, not surprisingly, the sixth graders generally accounted for a much higher proportion of the "don't knows" which were actually observed. A summary of the "don't know" responses to Question D25 ("If a group of people wanted to influence the Mayor or the City Council in _____ what would be the best way to do it.") provides one of the most extreme examples of this trend.

TABLE 1

AN EXAMPLE OF THE PATTERNING
OF "DON'T KNOW" RESPONSES BY AGE

(Question D25)

	Grade			
	6th	8th	10th	12th
Percentage of Don't Know Responses for Question D25.	24	10	04	03

However, as we shall see, there were some questions which drew a sizable percentage of "don't knows," from subjects at every grade level, the most notable examples being the questions which dealt with political parties. We shall have occasion to comment on the implications of this finding later on in our report.

The Concepts of Government and Law

Returning to what might be called the "substantive codes", the first set of items we wish to review come under the heading of Government and Law. To facilitate our presentation, we will take up the questions on Government and the questions on Law separately.

Questions on Government

If a group of 1000 people were actually to move to an island and begin life anew one of their first tasks would be to set up some form of government. Accordingly, we posed the following series of questions early in the interview[2]:

> 1. The first problem the people on the island had to deal with was the form of government they should have. Since they were starting a new life on the island, they could begin afresh, and work toward an ideal form of government. In talking it over it soon appeared that there were three points of view. Some people believed that the best way to govern the island was for everyone to meet once a week, to talk over the laws, and to vote on them. Others thought it would be best to elect a group of about twenty people who would meet together and decide which laws to pass. And a third point of view was that one leader should be chosen to make the laws for the island; he would be the wisest person and if they weren't satisfied with him, they could elect someone else after a year or so. Now would you think over these three ideas and tell me what is good and what is bad about each one of them?
>
> 2. Which of these do you think is the best?
>
> 3. Which is the worst?
>
> 7. About 20% of the people on the island were farmers, and they were worried that their problems might not be understood by the rest of the people, and that laws might be passed which would damage their interest. Is their any solution for this?

---

[2]The gaps in the numbering of interview items occur because approximately half of the original questions on the Desert Island Questionnaire have been omitted in the present version. "Old" questions, i.e., questions which have been retained from the 1963 edition of the questionnaire, are given arabic numerals (i.e., "1, 2, 3....7"). "New" questions which have been inserted to replace some of the "old" questions are prefaced by they letter "D" (i.e., D3, D4, D5.....D11).

In her doctoral dissertation Bush (1970) developed codes for and analyzed the responses to questions on form of government (items 1, 2, and 3) and representation (item 7). We discovered that we could use the same codes with only minor revisions for our data, and hence it is not entirely surprising that our results are similar to hers. Bush found that when asked to describe the advantages and disadvantages of various forms of government that a substantial percentage of her younger subjects missed the point and were unable to respond at all. Those who did tended to give rather simplistic answers which lacked any real sense of the possible uses and abuses of power. When stating the disadvantages of having everyone meet, the younger subjects tended to concentrate on "extrinsic" problems--not enough chairs, too many people crowded together, and so forth. The older subjects, by contrast, were far more likely to object to the "town meeting" format because of its inherent unworkability--inefficiency, confusion, and the like.

Turning to our own results (see Table 2-10, pp. 19-27), we find that this same pattern is repeated. Though it is not completely uniform, the sixth and eighth graders have a tendency to answer "unreflectively" or concentrate on external matters. The tenth and twelfth graders display much more comprehension of how political systems actually work or fail to work. These differences become especially apparent in Table 7 and 10. Table 7 summarizes the objection to one-man rule. The younger subjects were strikingly oblivious to the implications for individual freedom. A substantial percentage of the sixth graders declared that they couldn't think of anything wrong with the idea. The older subjects, on the other hand, were much more sensitive to possible abuses of power, stating that one man rule was basically undemocratic. The ruler might be selfish, they claimed, and in addition, his would be the only view represented. (Tables 7 & 10, pp. 24 & 27)

The older subjects are not only more concerned about the "undemocratic" character of one-man rule. They are also much more aware of how to insure adequate representation for diverse points of view, the essence of democracy. When asked what a minority group could do to make sure that its own special interests were not ignored, (see Table 10), the younger subjects seemed to be at a loss. A very substantial percentage replied vaguely that the worried farmers could "talk to the government" or "move to another part of the island." An equally impressive percentage of the older subjects suggested that the farmers do what they could within the system--by either taking their case to one of the elected representatives (Table 10, category 4) or placing one of their own on the Council (Table 10, category 5).

Interestingly enough, there were a fair number of questions within this general subject area which did <u>not</u> produce any significant age differences--an unusual circumstance in the present study. When asked to describe the advantages of "all the people meeting" (Table 2), the

TABLE 2

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 1 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT ARE THE ADVANTAGES OF ALL THE PEOPLE MEETING?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Unreflective against all meeting: Flat "No" statement against all meeting	10	19	18	12
2. Unreflective for all meeting: Flat "Yes" statement for all meeting	16	9	13	16
3. Equal voice: "Everyone should have his own say" "Everyone can speak up on their own opinion"	52	51	38	38
4. Active participation: "Everyone gets a chance to take part" "It's a good idea if everyone can participate"	11	13	22	26
5. Informational function: "Everyone will be able to see what is happening"	10	6	3	5
6. Utopian fantasy: "All will get what they want and everyone will be happy"	2	2	5	3
(N)	(93)	(104)	(99)	(98)

Ages: $X^2=24.60(15)$, $p < .10$

TABLE 3

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 1 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT ARE THE DISADVANTAGES OF ALL PEOPLE MEETING?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Unreflective - no disadvantage "Unreflective "No" statement to disadvantage of all people meeting"	39	31	26	13
2. Extrinsic problems -- "Not enough space and too many people".	24	27	9	19
3. Intrinsic problems: "Too many ideas leading to inefficiency, disagreement and confusion."	25	34	57	65
4. Concern with control of interpersonal aggression: Fights and feuds, not merely disagreements	8	6	4	1
5. Anti-democratic: Idea that people can't govern themselves.	4	2	2	2
6. Time perspective: Increasing infeasibility of method due to population expansion.	0	0	1	0
(N)	(92)	(103)	(88)	(91)

Ages: $X^2=51.60\ (15),\ p. < .001$

TABLE 4

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 1 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT ARE THE ADVANTAGES OF A REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Unreflective against having a representative government: Unreflective "no" statement against representative government	35	30	24	22
2. Unreflective in favor of a representative government: unreflective "yes" statement in favor of representative government	20	12	06	08
3. Simple democracy: "There would be more views (but not too many)"	06	09	13	08
4. Representative democracy: Constituents could express their views via representatives"	13	20	32	42
5. Efficiency: Easier to meet and count votes, easier to reach agreement, could get things done more quickly, practical, feasible for discussion.	23	27	22	16
6. Elitism: They would be the best people; specialists in government, etc.	02	02	02	04
(N)	(82)	(91)	(98)	(100)

Ages: $X^2=34.58(15)$, $p < .01$

TABLE 5

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 1 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT ARE THE DISADVANTAGES OF A REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Unreflective: Unreflective "No" statement, that there are no disadvantages of a representative government.	22	19	26	21
2. Procedural or extrinsic difficulties: hard to select the 20 people, need to have campaigns (Does not include notions of self-interest)	12	10	04	08
3. Lack of consensus within cabinet: Hard for 20 people to agree, inefficient.	12	10	07	08
4. Lack of country-wide agreement: 20 people are not enough; everyone would want to take part.	43	44	44	50
5. Mistrust of authority: intentional unwillingness of leaders to represent the people; selfishness of leaders.	07	12	16	18
6. Discord within the cabinet: fights, competition, discord leading to war.	05	04	02	01
(N)	(86)	(90)	(99)	(89)

Ages: $X^2=18.42(15),\ p<.05$

TABLE 6

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 1 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT ARE THE ADVANTAGES OF ONE MAN RULE?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Unreflective against one man rule: Simple, "no" statement against one man rule.	24	21	39	31
2. Unreflective for one man rule: Simple "yes" statement for one man rule.	10	13	11	04
3. Efficiency: Things accomplished easily and quickly. "It would be easier to make rules and everything like that."	06	11	09	14
4. Avoidance and intolerance of dissension and confusion: having only one opinion eliminates arguments; "There must be a highest person at the top controlling things"	18	15	10	14
5. Conditional: Unusual conditions or exceptional qualities of leader justify one man rule	21	17	20	25
6. Replaceability: naive acceptance of notion that power of recall will not be jeopardized, single leader easily replaced.	21	21	10	13
(N)	(96)	(98)	(89)	(96)

Ages: $X^2 = 22.68 (15)$, $p < .10$

TABLE 7

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 1 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT ARE THE DISADVANTAGES OF ONE MAN RULE?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Unreflective for one man rule: Simple, "yes" statement for one man rule.	32	25	12	11
2. Unreflective against one man rule: Simple, "no" statement against one man rule.	03	02	05	02
3. Abuse of power or infringement of others' rights: Leader might be selfish and concerned only with his own gains and/or those of his followers; too much power.	12	13	29	34
4. Unrepresentative-undemocratic: There is only one opinion and this is not enough; you don't know what the people want." "People will be left out of things."	25	23	27	31
5. Inherent infeasibility of one man rule: including "fallibility of authority" and impossible role demands (impossible for one person to fulfill)	11	12	09	12
6. Single leader generating negative reactions in people: leader-directed aggression; civil way, arousal of envy, arguments over who will be leader	17	26	17	09
(N)	(93)	(112)	(99)	(90)

Ages: $X^2 = 44.01\ (15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 8

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 2 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT IS THE BEST FORM OF GOVERNMENT?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. The first way: "The one where all the people on the island meet to set up the laws and rules."	32	30	46	45
2. The second way: "The one where the 20 representatives meet to decide on the laws and rules."	31	43	33	44
3. The third way: "The one where one man decides on the rules and laws for the whole island."	37	26	21	10
(N)	(115)	(106)	(112)	(106)

Ages: $X^2=14.82(6)$, $p<.01$

TABLE 9

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 3 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT IS THE WORST FORM OF GOVERNMENT?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. The first way: "The one where all the people on the island meet to set up the laws and rules."	28	27	32	30
2. The second way: "The one where the 20 representatives meet to decide on the laws and rules."	28	27	20	14
3. The third way: "The one where one man decides on the rules and laws for the whole island."	44	46	48	56
(N)	(111)	(108)	(222)	(103)

Ages: $X^2=8.68(6)$; p=NS

TABLE 10

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 7 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

HOW TO PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF A MINORITY GROUP?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Primitive conception of action: Protest, retaliation, revolt, or pressure (unelaborated) Appeal to authority- "Talk to the government"	46	39	25	07
2. Separatism: "Farmers should have their own government or own separate laws"	24	11	04	05
3. Denial: "The government wouldn't do anything against them cause everyone needs food" undeservedness equated with the unlikelihood of such a problem arising.	10	10	08	09
4. Quasi-representation: "Give the problem to one of the 20 representatives; a leader from the farmers or a farmers committee offering suggestions to the gov't"	17	35	44	43
5. Institutionalized representation: Representatives from the farmers participating in the governing body. "Make one of the 20 a farmer."	03	06	19	35
(N)	(70)	(84)	(97)	(97)

Ages: $X^2=90.67(12)$, $p < .001$

advantages of one-man rule (Table 6), and the "worst form of government" (Table 9), there were some trends but no clear pattern emerged. Similarly, when the subjects were asked to describe the disadvantages of representative government, the results barely reached significance at the .05 level. In retrospect, however, these negative findings make a certain amount of sense, which is why we have included them in the body of the report rather than relegating them to the appendix. (Table 6,9 pp.23,26)

When asked to distinguish between direct democracy, representative democracy, and dictatorship, our older subjects demonstrated a clear preference for some sort of democratic government (see Table 8). They also appeared to comprehend the workings of a representative system much more clearly than did the younger subjects. Very likely the older subjects had acquired certain information about the functioning of a democracy along with certain democratic values, e.g., providing adequate representation for various interest groups within a society. Hence, when we asked them to state the advantages of a basically authoritarian form of government (one-man rule), the disadvantages of a representative system (the 20 Council members) and the advantages of a system which was totally democratic but obviously cumbersome (everyone meeting), we may have engendered some confusion. Though this is admittedly a post hoc explanation, we suspect that we were requiring the older subjects to "undo" a portion of their previous socialization. They had already learned how a representative government functions and they had also learned that this was the preferred system (it is, after all, the one which is most common at all levels of government in this country). Yet on the interview we requested that they state the disadvantages of representative democracy and the advantages of two less "desirable" forms of government. (Table 8, p. 25)

The Purpose of Government and the Purpose of Law

Questions regarding the form of government are, of course, closely related to questions regarding the purpose of government, and, indeed, the purpose of the entire legal system. We included the following items under this latter heading:

8. Here's another problem they discussed. Everybody agreed that some laws were necessary. However, some people felt that most laws aren't needed. They said that you could count on people to follow their consciences, and that most people are sensible and good. Others felt the opposite way. They said that when you have people living together you simply had to have a great many laws and rules. Can you tell me what you think of each of these ideas?

8a. What is the purpose of a government?

9. What is the purpose of laws?

10. What would happen if there weren't any laws?

12. What's the difference between these two types of people? What makes one person naturally law-abiding and another person of the kind who gets in trouble?

13. Could you give me some examples of the ways people get into trouble with the law? (Probe to uncover motives for getting into trouble with the law. Suggested phrasing: "Why do you think they do that?")

42. A group of 20 people was finally elected to govern the island --they were called the Council--and here was one of the first issues they faced: A majority felt that cigarette smoking was undesirable because of its effect on health. The question they asked themselves was what, if anything the government ought to do about it. Should the government forbid smoking or not? What do you think?

45. Now here's what happened. A majority of the Council voted for a law to forbid smoking with a fine for those caught selling or smoking cigarettes. But the law didn't seem to work. Cigarettes were smuggled onto the island and people smoked secretly. A majority of the Council still believed in forbidding cigarette smoking and the problem they had was how to enforce the law. What do you think they should do in this case?

The responses by age to these questions are summarized in Tables 11-20, pp. 30-39.

In analyzing the responses to these questions we again had access to codes which had been used in previous studies (Beall, 1967; Adelson, Green, and O'Neil, 1969), and once again, we were able to employ these codes with only minor revisions. As noted in the introduction to this report, our earlier research had uncovered marked changes in the concepts of law and government with increasing age. The younger subjects tended to define both in essentially negative terms. In their view, laws and government existed primarily to restrict individuals and prevent anti-social acts. In a lawless society, they declared, all sorts of violence and mayhem would occur. This "law and order" orientation also extended to the enforcement of existing statutes, no matter how trivial or pointless. Even a completely unworkable law to prohibit smoking ought to be retained, they believed, and violators ought to be severely punished. In this context, it is probably not surprising that the younger subjects also had very little notion of the motive which might lead individuals to break laws.

The older subjects displayed, by contrast, a far more reflective and "reasoned" approach. In their view, the legal system existed not so much to restrict as to regulate. The danger in a lawless society would be more one of chaos and confusion than outright violence. Accompanying this more

TABLE 11

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 8 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

ARE MANY LAWS OR FEW LAWS NEEDED IN SOCIETY?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic: "To keep people from doing just anything" "People don't follow their conscience"	54	38	45	28
2. Need many laws: Not only should there be laws but there is a specific need for many laws.	14	16	06	03
3. Balance between restriction and individual freedom: "Too many laws, people feel restricted, but without laws we wouldn't get along--i.e. some idea of restriction vs. individual rights.	04	23	37	52
4. Need some laws but not too many: May include pragmatic reasons against too many laws ("people can't remember them all") in combination with a need from some laws.	25	22	09	13
5. No laws needed: "You don't need any laws"	02	02	03	04
(N)	(114)	(111)	(113)	(105)

Ages: $X^2=84.06(12)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 12

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 8A BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF A GOVERNMENT?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic; missing the point, confused, vague: "So they won't run red lights and stop signs"	43	25	10	07
2. Restriction: "Keep the people in line" "Make sure everyone does their job" "So people won't stray in the wrohg direction"	16	24	16	06
3. Regulation of interpersonal conflict, law and order: "To prevent conflict and bring about agreement or harmony" "Prevent confusion" "Preserve and maintain order"	28	34	33	33
4. Guide, code, standard, leadership: teaching/showing what is right rather than restriction as in #2. "So people would know what to go by." "To have a better place to live"	08	08	25	21
5. General welfare orientation: Emphasis on services, giving people what they want, dividing up goods equally, providing for people's needs.	03	05	10	18
6. Sense of community: Represent will of people, keep community going; Management of external relations: protection against other nations. Awareness of international relations.	02	03	06	16
(N)	(102)	(99)	(102)	(101)

Ages: $X^2=99.93(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 13

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 9 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF LAWS?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic: Missing the point of the question, vague, confused.	44	30	14	05
2. Restriction: Controlling, preventing, disciplining and punishing; "To keep the people in line" Obedience answers referring to avoiding wrong and doing right.	37	35	29	22
3. Regulation of interpersonal conflict; law and order: To prevent conflict and bring about agreement & harmony. To keep peace, maintain order and prevent confusion.	16	22	34	34
4. Guide, Code, Standard and Leadership: Emphasis on influencing, teaching, showing what is right rather than restriction as in #2. "Setting examples for people to go by"	02	05	09	21
5. Sense of community: Represent will of people, keep community going; also includes management of external relations-protection against other countries.	02	09	14	18
(N)	(114)	(109)	(109)	(101)

Ages: $X^2=96.64(12)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 14

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 10 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF THERE WEREN'T ANY LAWS?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic; Lack of impulse control, interpersonal conflict: "People are bad and they would kill each other" "Everyone would be doing what they want to do"	75	63	41	39
2. Loss of guidance, absence of good, lack of protection: "Bad things would be happening and no one could do anything about it" "People wouldn't know what to do"	16	26	40	37
3. Specific concern with community: "People wouldn't be able to live together if we didn't have rules" "It wouldn't be much of a country"	08	09	14	14
4. Some idea of increased freedom: "People doing what they want to do would be alright but some people would wreck it up"	01	03	06	09
(N)	(116)	(105)	(111)	(99)

Ages: $X^2=43.87(9)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 15

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 12 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN LAW ABIDING PEOPLE

AND THOSE WHO GET INTO TROUBLE?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Training, family influence, social class: "It's the way they were brought up" "They are poor and live in slums" "They don't have a good education"	21	36	52	67
2. Impulse or externalization: "Some don't have much to do so they get bored and get into trouble" "They might drink or something" "Everyone breaks the laws"	19	20	21	15
3. Economic necessity or dissatisfaction: "They don't have things they want"	03	09	03	01
4. Disagreement vs. agreement with laws: includes feelings against the government.	07	03	06	05
5. Simplistic repetition: "The one who obeys the laws doesn't get into trouble, and the ones who don't obey them get into trouble"	50	33	18	13
(N)	(157)	(222)	(102)	(102)

Ages: $X^2=74.06(12)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 16

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 13 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHY DO PEOPLE GET INTO TROUBLE WITH THE LAW?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Inpulse and revenge: "To have fun" "They want to do what they want to do" "Result of boredom"	47	48	24	22
2. Low level emotional or environmental problem: "Goofy in the head" "They don't know what's wrong or right" Responses with no elaboration.	15	10	09	02
3. Desire for attention: "To show off" "To show their friends they're bad" "They want to be different from other people"	06	09	14	05
4. Economic: "They don't want to work but they need things" Any mention of needing physical or material things because of lack of money. "They need drugs"	15	22	22	32
5. Higher level emotional or environmental: "They come from a bad family" "Something is psychologically wrong with them and the way they think" Responses with elaboration.	10	09	21	29
6. Anti-authoritarian: "He gets in trouble because he doesn't like the law" "They break laws they don't believe in"	09	01	11	10
(N)	(103)	(89)	(101)	(93)

Ages: $X^2=59.73(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 17

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 42 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT FORBID SMOKING OR NOT?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic FORBID: "People shouldn't smoke" "They should forbid it 'cause everyone would be smoking cigarettes" "Forbid it. It's a law and you can't break it"	39	11	08	05
2. Simplistic permissiveness: "They shouldn't be against smoking 'cause you just put it in your mouth, sip up, and blow out" "No" "Just let em smoke"	14	09	07	08
3. Awareness of implications for health: "They should forbid it cause the people could die from heart disease and lung cancer" "It's bad for their health and they can die off because of it"	22	30	17	09
4. Persuasion and appeal to reason: "Advertize all over that cigarette smoking can be hazardous to your health" "Use commercials to discourage people from smoking" "Warn people about the effects of smoking"	04	09	09	09
5. Emphasis on self-indulgence, difficulty of breaking habit, "It's a habit they just can't break" "If they want to endanger their health, go right ahead" "They're not hurting anyone but themselves"	14	25	32	31
6. Self-determination, concept of individual rights: "Let them do what they want to, it's up to them to decide" "The government can't tell a person not to smoke if he wants to" "It's their business, not the government's"	06	14	27	38
(N)	(118)	(106)	(106)	(106)

Ages: $X^2=112.41(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 18

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 45 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT SHOULD THEY DO IN THE CASE OF ENFORCING THE LAW TO FORBID SMOKING? (ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF ENFORCEMENT)

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic, vague, confused, etc.: "They shouldn't let them smoke." "They shouldn't let cigarettes on the island." "Get rid of cigarettes."	38	21	08	07
2. Punitive: "Fine them and make them stop." "Kick them off the island." "Put them in jail for life." "Drown them and the cigarettes in quicksand."	42	43	51	26
3. Legalistic: "Conduct searches on the boats coming onto the island and in the homes and confiscate all the cigarettes." "Have a guard system posted all around the island"	16	27	35	45
4. Reasoning and persuasion: "Try to reason with the people and show them the hazardous effects of smoking" "Advertize that cigarette smoking is hazardous to your health all over the place."	04	09	06	21
(N)	(91)	(70)	(51)	(42)

Ages: $X^2=44.20(9)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 19

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 45 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT SHOULD THEY DO IN THE CASE OF ENFORCING THE LAW TO FORBID SMOKING? (Responses favoring abolition)

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic: "Just let them smoke" "Get rid of the law" "Leave them alone"	27	26	24	13
2. Pessimistic: "There's no way you could ever enforce a law like that so just forget about it" "Sooner or later they'll just start smoking again so just forget about the whole law"	45	32	51	48
3. Self-indulgence, interference with pleasure: "Some people are really hooked; it's like a habit that they just can't break" "It's their health and it's up to them."	18	26	15	10
4. Infringement of individual rights: "It's going against their rights to impose a restriction like that on them" "It's nobody's business but their own" "Only they can determine if they're going to smoke or not"	09	16	11	28
(N)	(11)	(38)	(58)	(60)

Ages: $X^2=14.29(9)$, p = NS

TABLE 20

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 45 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

SMOKING LAW: AGREEMENT WITH OR DISAGREEMENT?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Overall agreement with enforcement of smoking law: "I think they should go all the way with it."	90	64	48	44
2. Overall disagreement with enforcement of smoking law: "They should let the people keep on smoking because they would even if they did have the law."	10	36	52	56
(N)	(109)	(109)	(107)	(103)

Ages: $\chi^2=60.04(3)$, $p<.001$

facilitative view of government was an increasing ability to distinguish between the sensible and the unreasonable. The younger subjects were more concerned with having the laws conform to people. Their solution for an unworkable law was simply to change it. And finally, perhaps reflecting their more realistic conception of humanity, the older subjects demonstrated far more insight into motives which might underlie law-breaking.

As can be seen (Tables 11-20, pp. 30-39), the results of the present study are almost identical to those observed by Beall and Adelson and O'Neil. Here too the overall concepts of government changes from restrictive to facilitative, (Tables 12, 13, and 14, pp. 31-33) with the younger subjects declaring that laws exist to "keep people from beating up on each other," and the older subjects stressing the importance of having standards for conduct and some means to insure social harmony. When confronted with the issue of an unworkable law (Tables 17-19, pp. 36-39), the younger subjects advocated enforcing it regardless and described Draconian schemes for doing so (Table 18), while the older subjects perceived the threat to individual self-determination inherent in such a law (Tables 17 and 19[3] pp. 36 and 39) and were much more likely than the younger subjects to advise rescinding it. In conjunction with their concern for the rights of individuals the older subjects also demonstrated much more insight into the motives of individuals. (Tables 15 and 16, pp. 34-35) A substantial portion of the sixth graders were stymied when asked to distinguish between law-abiding citizens and those who commit crimes (Table 15, p. 34). They also had a marked tendency to cite loss of impulse control as the major reason for law breaking. An equally substantial number of twelfth graders, on the other hand, cited environmental factors ("They don't have a good education." "It's the way they were brought up."), deprivation ("They're poor." "They're on drugs and need the money."), or mental illness ("Something is psychologically wrong with them.") as possible causes of crime. However, it should be emphasized once again that his growing insight into human nature and increasing awareness of civil liberties is not an entirely lop-sided development. What appears to be emerging with the older subjects is an increased appreciation of the social contract--the mutual rights of the individual and the community. They are much more concerned than the younger respondents about possible invasions of privacy but not to the extent of advocating complete license. The purpose

---

[3]The chi square on this part of Question 45 does not quite reach significance at the .10 level, but this is somewhat misleading. As can be seen, a disproportionately small number of 6th and 8th graders objected to the smoking law on any grounds, thus distorting our calculations.

of government is, after all, to mediate disputes, provide a standard of conduct, and insure the survival of the community (Tables 12 and 13, pp. 32-33). And very few of the older subjects believe that laws could be dispensed with altogether. Indeed, when asked whether the imaginary islanders of the Desert Island Questionnaire required few laws or many, more than half the twelfth graders replied that it was necessary to achieve a balance between restriction and freedom (Table 11, p. 30).

Having reviewed the results both of our previous work and the present study, we can state with considerable confidence that the concepts of law and government evolve in a clear cut and unequivocal fashion. In our study and those of our associates (Beall, 1967; Bush, 1970), older subjects demonstrate a preference for democratic forms of government along with an increased comprehension of how democracies actually function. Hence, government is viewed less as a repressive, monolithic force and more as a set of rules and regulations designed to insure social cooperation. There is a growing awareness that those who refuse to observe these rules and regulations do so, not so much because of their inherent wickedness but because of their alienation from the system. Indeed, there is even the recognition with increasing age that the system itself can be wrong--as when it passes laws which attempt to restrict individual choice and freedom to too great an extent. All in all, the perception of government which appears to emerge among the oldest respondents is a balanced one, one which portrays government as a kind of contract between individual and society. We shall have occasion to enlarge upon this theme in the next section which examines several additional facets of the relationship between the citizen and the state.

The Individual and the State

In addition to being interested in examining the structure of government and the purpose of government, we were also concerned with the relationship between the political system and "the governed". How did our respondents justify the presence of certain services (e.g., education and health) typically required by law? What sort of laws did they believe the government could reasonably pass? What safeguards, if any, for individual freedoms did they advocate? And how did they propose to resolve conflicts between the public interest and individual self-determination? The items of the interview directed toward these issues were as follows:[4]

> 14. Now let us take a look at some specific laws that were discussed by the people on the island. To begin with, some people suggested a law which would require children to go to school until they were 16 years old. What would be the purpose of such a law?

---

[4]Only the questions which yielded significant results are included.

18. Another law was suggested which required all children to be vaccinated against small pox and polio. What would be the purpose of that law?

20. There was a small group of people on the island who were members of a religion which was opposed to vaccination. They said that their religious beliefs disapproved of vaccination. What would you do in a case like that?

26. Lets' return to some of the laws that were proposed. One was a suggestion that men over 45 be required to have a yearly medical check-up. What do you think of that suggestion?

27. Okay. Here's another law the people of the island proposed: that people paint their houses at least once every five years. What position would you take, and why?

29. After a great deal of discussion the people of the island developed a fairly complete system of principles and laws. At this point, another issue arose. There were some who felt that certain laws, such as those guaranteeing freedom of speech, were so important that they should never be changed, and that it should be agreed that no future government would ever be able to change those laws. On the other hand, there were those who felt that as times change then laws must change, and that there ought to be no laws which future government could not change if they wanted to. What do you think of these arguments?

30. Could you give me some examples of the kinds of laws that should be permanent and unchangeable?

31. There were some people who felt that permanent laws such as those guaranteeing freedom of speech, might be a good idea, except in times of war or emergency, such as a riot. They said that when there was a really serious crisis, the government should have the right to suspend all those laws until the emergency was over. What do you think of that?

48. Here is another problem the Council faced. They decided to build a road to connect one side of the island to the other. For the most part they had no trouble buying the land on which to build the road, but one man refused to sell his land to the government. He was offered a fair price for his land but he refused, saying that he didn't want to move, that he was attached to his land, and that the Council could buy another peice of land and change the direction of the road. Many people thought he was selfish, but others thought he was in the right. What do you think?

The project director of the present study had analyzed these questions in an earlier piece of research. In her doctoral dissertation, Gallatin (1967), attempted to provide a conceptual framework for this particular area of inquiry and suggested that the questions in this section required subjects to distinguish between various kinds of rights--the rights of citizens to certain benefits and protection, and the rights of individuals to freedom from interference. What she found most striking in this earlier research was the growing recognition among older respondents that there were various kinds of rights--that a government could require a compliance from its citizens "in the public interest" and that citizens could require the government to refrain from "invasion of privacy." The older subjects also demonstrated an increasing ability to weigh one set of rights against another, deciding in one instance that the welfare of the community as a whole should prevail and in another that individual prerogatives should be respected.

Much the same result is observed in the present study and it essentially complements the findings we have reported in the previous section on law and government. Once again there is abundant evidence that between the sixth and twelfth grades a substantial proportion of adolescents manage to incorporate the ideals we commonly identify as "democratic." Indeed, the "social contract" mentality we have remarked upon before becomes even more sharply defined in the responses to the present set of items. Perhaps, what is involved is basically a shift in perspective, from the direct and immediate to the indirect and far-reaching. Just as the older subjects had less difficulty listing the merits of representative government (an "indirect" form of democracy), they are more apt than the younger subjects to justify certain policies (e.g., education and health care) in terms of their long-range effects. Whereas the younger subjects tend to declare somewhat simplistically that people go to school "in order to learn something" or have themselves vaccinated "so they won't get sick," a considerable number of older subjects mention "progress" and "community survival" instead (Tables 21 and 22, pp. 44-45). If they do mention benefits to the indvidual, the oldest subjects are more apt to cite intangibles like "self-actualization" rather than more direct rewards such as "getting a better job." (see Table 21, category 3, p. 44). This broader frame of reference is evident even in response to an unabashedly silly and arbitrary law. While younger subjects tend to justify painting one's house every five years on the grounds that "things will look nicer," older subjects are more likely to mention such abstractions as "pride" and "morale." As one presumably patriotic twelfth grader put it, "People take more pride in their community if it looks nice." (Table 24, p. 47).

Interestingly enough, this very same item points up the extent to which the older adolescent's commitment to the community is a dualistic one. The older subjects who actually defended the house-painting law may have cited its benefits to the community as a whole, but fewer of the older subjects troubled to defend the law, and of those who objected

TABLE 21

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 14 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF EDUCATION?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic, vague, unreflective: S. states in a primitive way that the people go to school to learn, (no specific mention of what is learned)	60	46	39	41
2. Occupational pragmatism: Any response that relates education to getting a job. "Learning to do a job" "To bring everyone up to the same standard"	31	43	24	10
3. Self-actualization: "So a person can do something with his life." "Cultural awareness" "So one can be well rounded" "To prepare people for life"	06	07	15	24
4. Progress and continuity: "So the community will survive and advance" "To train future leaders" "To provide the community with professional people"	03	04	22	25
(N)	(110)	(104)	(108)	(100)

Ages: $X^2=77.70(9)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 22

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 18 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF UNIVERSAL VACCINATION?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Unreflective, primitive utility: "So kids won't get sick" "So people won't catch it" (no explanation)	56	48	37	20
2. Spread of disease from one individual to another: "If one person gets it then someone else could" "You would be catching others germs."	36	38	40	35
3. Community survival: Concern for the population (or island) at large. "So the people won't die off." "Survival and preservation of the community."	07	14	23	45
(N)	(108)	(110)	(112)	(104)

Ages: $X^2=59.14(6)$. $p < .001$

TABLE 23

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 26 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT DOES S THINK OF LAW REQUIRING MEN

OVER 45 TO HAVE A YEARLY MEDICAL EXAM?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Unreflective, security orientation, paternalism, etc.: "It's good because people won't die" "Otherwise the father might die and leave the wife and children" "People won't do it for themselves" "Old people get sick a lot"	75	70	69	58
2. Community survival, economic gain: "It's good because everyone won't die off." "It will be better for the community" "It will make for a better work force" "So people can work"	11	19	10	08
3. Objection on the basis of economic pragmatism or individual discretion: "It would cost too much" "Poor people would not be able to afford it" "It's a good idea, but you shouldn't have to if you don't want to"	14	11	21	35
(N)	(115)	(108)	(112)	(104)

Ages: $X^2=26.06(6)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 24

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 27 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

ARGUMENTS FOR LAW REQUIRING PAINTING OF

HOUSES EVERY FIVE YEARS

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Immediate effect, unreflective: "So things would look nice"	52	31	23	22
2. Order, cleanliness: "It'll keep things neat and clean"	33	29	41	35
3. Consciousness of community, idea of making a good general impression. "So the country will look nice" "People take more pride in their country if it looks nice"	11	34	36	41
4. National consciousness, Notion that visitors will judge community by the way it looks: "So the island will look nice for tourists"	05	06	00	03
(N)	(64)	(62)	(56)	(37)

Ages: $X^2=25.06(9)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 25

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 27ag BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

ARGUMENTS AGAINST LAW REQUIRING PAINTING OF HOUSES EVERY FIVE YEARS

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Blanket objection with no consciousness of issue: "It's a silly law." "It's stupid to have a law like that, if it had to be painted then it should be painted"	14	13	10	11
2. Hardship on the poor and aged: "Some people couldn't afford it" "When you get older it's hard to paint your house"	08	10	07	07
3. Unnecessary waste of money: "It might not need it that often" "The house might not need it"	14	06	09	13
4. Individual discretion, and infringement of individual rights: "Some people might not want to" "No one should be able to tell you what to do with your own house" "It's too much trouble"	24	24	42	51
(N)	(69)	(55)	(76)	(82)

$X^2=15.314(9)$, $.05 < p < .10$

TABLE 25a

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 27ag BY AGE(IN PERCENTAGES)

OVERALL AGREEMENT OR DISAGREEMENT WITH HOUSE PAINTING LAW

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Disagreement with law.	60	52	67	82
2. Agreement with law.	39	48	33	18
(N)	(114)	(105)	(114)	(100)

$X^2=21.23(3)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 26

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 29 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

SHOULD LAWS (SUCH AS THOSE GUARANTEEING FREEDOM OF SPEECH)

CHANGE OR REMAIN THE SAME?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic or confused: "They should be able to change them" or "They shouldn't be able to change them" (no elaboration) "Like mothers should keep their kids in houses at night time and they don't run around"	51	27	09	01
2. Security orientation: "It would be too confusing to change them all the time; they ought to remain the same" "Well, like freedom of speech, people shouldn't be able to say what they want cuz it might cause riots"	14	05	12	06
3. Majority rule, conditional: "If the majority wanted it, they ought to change" "It all depends on what the laws are"	18	24	19	04
4. Preservation of civil liberties, no mention of amendment: "Well, freedom of speech, no one should be able to change that"	03	18	12	20
5. Time perspective, amendment concept: "Well, it wouldn't work to have the same old laws forever." "You need to have the laws change with the times."	14	22	32	42
6. Time perspective, amendment concept, preservation of freedom laws: "Well it is true that some laws need to change with the times, but on the other hand, you really do need freedom of speech."	00	05	15	27
(N)	(117)	(110)	(113)	(103)

Ages: $X^2=107.26(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 27

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 30 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT KINDS OF LAWS SHOULD BE PERMANENT?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Confused, trivial, of misdemeanor: "Like you could still keep like, the policemen are suppose to help you and be kind" "You should paint your house every five years" "Laws against swearing" "Traffic laws"	72	29	27	08
2. Reference to education: "They ought to keep the law that you have to go to school until you're 16"	09	19	06	04
3. Reference to voting laws: "They ought to keep the law that you can vote when you're 18"	00	03	05	03
4. Crime penalties: "Laws against stealing and murdering ought to be permanent"	12	16	24	10
5. Civil liberties: "Freedom of speech" "You ought to be able to say what you want to" "You ought to be able to pratice what religion you want to"	07	33	38	74
(N)	(105)	(104)	(102)	(89)

Ages: $X^2=148.70(12)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 28

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 31 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

SHOULD CIVIL LIBERTIES BE SUSPENDED DURING A CRISIS?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Flat yes, minimal explanation	47	24	10	06
2. No, misinterpretation of question as meaning all laws should be suspended "People could do as they pleased" "It's too confusing" "You need more laws at a time like that"	35	27	12	12
3. No, security orientation, unelaborated mention of freedom of speech "The government should protect its citizens during an emergency" "You should be able to say what you want to"	07	17	20	17
4. Yes, suspend to maintain war effort, national security "If you let people say what they want, they might hurt morale" "You ought to have curfews" "Loose lips sink ships"	07	19	29	22
5. No suspension of civil liberties, explanation elaborated "There's even more need for freedom of speech so that people know what's going on"	02	08	22	31
6. Conditional, qualified "Meet each emergency as it arises" "It depends on the emergency"	02	05	08	13
(N)	(98)	(103)	(105)	(102)

Ages: $X^2=128.42(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 29

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 20 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT TO DO ABOUT CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

WHO REFUSE VACCINATION?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Unreflective or punitive: "There is nothing you can do." "They could spread it." "Make them move to another part of the island" "Make them leave" "Force them"	49	52	23	18
2. Sanctity of religion: "If it's their religion there's nothing you can do about it." "People should be free to worship as they please and not have to be vaccinated if it's against their religion"	13	11	17	26
3. Laissez-faire: "It's up to the individuals involved" "If they get sick, it's their own fault"	17	13	15	20
4. Preservation of the community: "As members of the community they should be vaccinated in order to preserve the society"	04	03	07	09
5. Qualified or use of persuasion, reason: "It depends on the size of the group" "Explain to them what can happen if they get the disease"	17	21	38	27
(N)	(106)	(110)	(110)	(102)

Ages: $X^2=54.72(12)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 30

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 48 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE FARMER WHO REFUSED TO SELL HIS LAND TO THE STATE FOR A HIGHWAY

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Unreflective, dogmatic concept of private ownership: "He's right, they should go around" "It's his land, he bought it, he might not like a road through it"	64	62	46	33
2. Infringement of individual rights: "He's in the right, not even the government should be able to make him move" "He has just as much right as anyone else to have it"	07	10	14	19
3. Individual social obligation: "He's in the right but he should take others into consideration" "He's selfish but they shouldn't make him move unless he wants to"	06	10	06	10
4. Authoritarian: "He's selfish, he should move" "If the government says so, you have to" "Majority rules"	14	11	09	06
5. Conditional, force as a last resort: "If the detour is small they should still go around, but he is still not in the right" "If there's no other way, they should force him off"	04	01	14	10
6. Community advancement, progress, mutual benefit: "It's for the benefit of the majority" "He shouldn't stand in the way of progress" "The farmer will get to use the road too" "He'll get a fair price for his land, he can feel proud of the new road"	04	06	10	22
(N)	(114)	(110)	(111)	(103)

Ages: $X^2=61.99(15)$, $p < .001$

to it, a greater percentage of the older subjects perceived it as a threat to individual liberties (see Tables 25 and 25a, p. 48). (A higher percentage of older subjects also objected--although less explicitly--to the proposal that men over 45 be required to have annual check-ups. See Table 23, p. 46).

In fact, so great is the commitment to civil liberties among the twelfth graders that they frequently insist that the rights of individuals be guaranteed by statute (see Tables 26, 27, and 28, pp. 49-51). Once again, an understanding of the way in which the system functions appears to go hand in hand with the incorporation of certain ideals. Perhaps because their perspective is essentially short-term and centered on the immediate, few of the younger subjects could grasp the concept of amendment. As far as most of them were concerned, the laws that existed could exist for all time (or if they did advocate change they were unable to articulate a reason as well). By contrast, a very substantial number of the oldest subjects recognized the necessity of having a legal system which could "change with the times." One which did not might become too rigid and antiquated. At the same time, however, fully three-quarters of these same respondents perceived the danger inherent in permitting the legal structure to be completely open to amendment. If any laws were to be permanent, it should be the ones guaranteeing a citizen's "inalienable rights" (see Table 27, p. 50). (It is interesting to note that in response to the question on permanent laws an equally impressive number of the sixth graders cited relatively trivial regulations--e.g., "laws against swearing.") Even in the face of a national emergency--which would inevitably pit the welfare of the community against the freedom of individual citizens--more than 40 percent of the twelfth graders either protested the suspension of civil liberties or stated that "it all depends on the emergency." (See Table 28, p. 51).

This brings us to the final issue under the general heading of individual and state: what happens when there is an explicit conflict between the rights of the community as a whole and those of individual citizens. The answer appears to be, echoing some of the twelfth graders above, that "it depends on the conflict." When confronted with the problem of a religious group that refused to be vaccinated, the younger subjects were inclined to be somewhat punitive and insist that the dissidents either comply or be exiled. The older subjects were more likely to express religious tolerance, Laissez-faire, or at the very least, an appeal to reason rather than force (Table 29, p. 52). However, the problem of a landowner who threatened to block a state highway drew almost the opposite response. Over 70 percent of the youngest subjects sided flatly with the landowner, proclaiming the inviolability of property rights.(Table 30, categories 1 and 2, p. 53). The oldest subjects were considerably more divided. Though a majority of them also sided with the farmer, it was a much smaller majority (52 percent), and a substantial percentage (22 percent), declared to the contrary that the farmer was impeding progress and that the will of the majority ought to prevail.

All in all, the prevailing impression--despite these somewhat inconsistent results--is that the older subjects are capable of being less categorical than the younger ones, capable of weighing one set of rights against another and reaching a decision by deliberation rather than by fiat. Indeed, one suspects that these seemingly contradictory results --the younger subjects siding with the community on one issue and with the individual on another, the older subjects siding with individuals on one issue and dividing between individual and community on another--are not contradictory at all. What the greater diversity of response among the twelfth graders probably reflects is their growing awareness of how complex political issues are. What they appear to be struggling with is the question of what is legitimate and what is not--which areas the state can reasonably be expected to regulate and which should be left to individual discretion.

In reviewing these questions on the Individual and the State, we have seen that as adolescents become more knowledgeable about the actual functioning of the political system, they also acquire a complementary set of ideals. In striking contrast to younger respondents, the older subjects in this study demonstrated a kind of dual commitment to "public welfare" and "individual freedom." Certain policies were justified because of their impact on the community as a whole, but guarantees of individual freedom were also required. What is perhaps most significant is that older subjects appeared to have a broader frame of reference than the younger subjects. The older group seemed more capable of appreciating the complexities of political issues, an appreciation which permitted them a greater flexibility of response. In general, the younger subjects seemed oriented more toward the tangible and immediate, the older subjects concerned more with the intangible and far-reaching effects of various policies.

Political Parties

In addition to its legal code and basic services, each democracy generally creates a set of procedures for filling its highest offices. Although third parties have appeared from time to time, our own country has long employed a two-party system for this purpose. Accordingly, we employed the following group of questions to trace the development of ideas regarding partisan politics:

> 32. The people finally voted for a representative system of government--that is, they voted to elect about 20 people who would make laws for the entire island. Before they could do so, however, they had to agree on a way to make sure that the people they elected represented fairly all the people of the island. What would be the best way of doing that?

33. After this was decided, plans to hold an election were made. What happened then was that two political parties were established to help elect candidates. I want you to imagine why it was that political parties did emerge.

34. What is the purpose of political parties?

35. Do you think we could get along without parties?

36. What are the advantages of having political parties?

37. What are the disadvantages?

38. Now I really want you to use your imagination and to tell me what you think those two parties stood for.

39. In your opinion, is there much difference between political parties?

40. Now suppose that you were voting in that election. What would you look for in a candidate.

41. Suppose you were voting in that election and faced this choice: One candidate was better qualified but stood for things in which you do not believe; the other's opinions were the same as yours but he was not as well qualified as the other man. Which of these would you vote for and why?

Employing the interviews from our first study (1963), Bush (1970) analyzed the responses to these questions.[5] She discovered that this was by and large a rather difficult set of items for all subjects, but especially for the very youngest ones. A large number of them were simply unable to answer the questions. However, an ability to comprehend the purpose and functioning of political parties gradually appeared. Among older subjects, political parties were seen to provide representation for various geographic and socioeconomic groupings in a society as well as various ideologies and points of view. The role that political parties play in "getting candidates elected" was mentioned more and more frequently. A kind of "enlightened self-interest" also began to emerge. When asked, for instance what they would look for an a candidate, the younger subjects (if they were capable of answering at all) usually listed a series of positive but rather vague personal qualities--e.g., "a good

---

[5]With the exception of Question 41, which was analyzed by Gallatin (1967).

person," "a nice person," "a friendly person." The older subjects were more insistent upon having a candidate agree with them, thereby demonstrating, presumably, that they understood the representational function of nominees for public office. However, few of the subjects in any age range waxed eloquent about political parties, and there was still a fair amount of confusion about the way in which they function even at the upper grade levels.

We found it useful to refer to Bush's codes as we began our analysis of the 1970 data on political parties. However, in this case, we refined her categories substantially. In the 1963 study which Bush used for her dissertation, the interviewers had neglected to probe when the younger subjects failed to answer the questions on political parties. It was consequently clear that these younger subjects were stymied but the reasons for their bewilderment were not apparent. In our own study, we explicitly instructed the interviewers to elicit some response to the questions on political parties no matter how incoherent or nonsensical it might sound. Thus, we were able to discover some possible sources of confusion.

The responses to questions 32-41 are presented in Tables 31-40, pp. 58-67. These data make it clear that a substantial percentage of younger subjects either misunderstand the word "party" ("Well, if they have parties than they all get together and have fun.") or make no distinction between political parties and government ("They make laws and see that things go right."). Only in the upper grades does the ability to differentiate between electoral politics and governmental functioning become apparent. Unlike the younger subjects, the older subjects are capable of devising a scheme for carrying out elections, recognizing that it has something to do with providing adequate representation for all the diverse elements in the community (See Table 31, p. 58). To a greater extent than the younger subjects, they seem to comprehend that political parties come into existence due to the existence of different interest groups and ideological disputes and that they provide a possible means for reconciling such differences (Tables 32, 33, 34, 35, and 37, pp. 59-64). They are also far more aware than the younger subjects of the "public relations" aspects of campaigning--both the positive and the negative aspects (Tables 35 and 36, pp. 62-63). Furthermore, there is evidence that by twelfth grade a sizable percentage of adolescents are capable of articulating the sorts of ideological differences which are likely to characterize political parties. When asked what the two imaginary parties on the island might have stood for, 56 percent of the very oldest subjects referred to some such difference, 25 percent responding in terms of the Liberal-Conservative dimension (see Table 37, p. 64). (Interestingly enough, the older subjects became notably less articulate when asked point blank if they thought there was much difference between parties. (See Table 38, p. 65).

TABLE 31

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 32 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT WOULD BE THE BEST WAY OF MAKING SURE THAT ELECTED COUNCIL MEMBERS WERE REPRESENTATIVE OF ISLAND AS A WHOLE?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Confusion, failure to speak to issue: "Elect em and check em in a month or so" "Have all the ladies vote first" "See if they like the laws"	42	14	11	01
2. Simplistic, fragmented or unreflective concept of election "Just have an election and let people vote on it" "Have people to ask people what they think" "Gather all the people together for a meeting"	15	31	26	12
3. Qualities of representatives "Pick an honest one you know could do that job" "Give em a test and pick the best one" "Look at his past and see what laws he likes"	24	27	15	21
4. Explicit scheme, mention of dividing island or people according to some criterion but no further elaboration: "Divide the island into areas" "Take a few from each kind of people, like farmers and that"	13	14	16	22
5. Higher order concept of election, representation: two or more components of electoral system mentioned "Have elections, have like each group pick somebody and put them on the ballot to represent them" "Divide the island into parts and each part vote for the person who would do the best job in their part"	05	13	32	44
(N)	(97)	(99)	(100)	(91)

Ages: $X^2=106.75(12)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 32

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 33 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHY WAS IT THAT POLITICAL PARTIES DID EMERGE?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Confusion, misinterpretation "Well, if they have parties then maybe they would get together and have fun" "I don't get what you mean"	56	32	26	19
2. Parties as government, confusing parties with governmental functions: "To help the government to be better" "To help the head man" "To keep people in order" "To make laws and see that things go right"	13	17	12	01
3. Vague or simplistic concept of election "So they could elect someone" "They have something to do with elections and stuff like that"	15	21	09	04
4. Simplistic notions of representation "One side would want something else" "Because of differences of opinion or different subject matter"	10	17	28	48
5. Provide choice and competition "I guess to have opposition, you know, to have a choice" "Because if they had only one candidate it would be a dictatorship"	05	04	15	08
6. Higher order concept of representation, notion that parties represent various beliefs, interests: "People might band together for their own benefit cuz maybe they didn't like the other candidate and that way they could elect a candidate for that district"	01	09	11	19
(N)	(107)	(95)	(101)	(98)

Ages: $X^2 = 108.33$ (15), $p < .001$

TABLE 33

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 34 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF POLITICAL PARTIES?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Confusion, parties as government "When you have a party everyone has a good time" "To make laws and see that things go right"	44	35	30	18
2. Parties as authoritarian bodies; emphasis on party loyalty. "They tell you how to vote" "It's not good." "Democrats just vote Democrat and Republicans just vote Republican"	06	04	04	09
3. Simplistic concept of election, representation "So they can decide who's right" "So they can elect a president" "So they could tell other people what they thought"	31	22	14	10
4. Resolution of different viewpoints "People have different ideas and you have to have elections to decide who's right"	11	10	17	27
5. Party as electoral vehicle "To choose the right man to run" "To support their candidate, to tell people to vote for him"	01	14	15	19
6. To provide choice and competition "I guess to have opposition, you know, to have a choice" "If they had only one candidate it would be a dictatorship"	06	15	20	18
(N)	(81)	(79)	(94)	(90)

Ages: $X^2 = 51.29(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 34

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 35 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

DO YOU THINK WE COULD GET ALONG WITHOUT POLTICAL PARTIES?

(WHY OR WHY NOT?)

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Confusion about parties "They didn't have to have them, they just didn't get along" "I think we could but I just don't know " "They might just give themselves up and kill themselves if they didn't have them"	63	37	30	15
2. Confusing political parties with governmental functions "Someone's got to make laws" "Someone's got to keep order" "So people will stop doing the same old wrong things and do them right"	19	31	11	04
3. Simple communciational, informational role "It's too confusing without them" "To help people decide what they want" "So you'll know there's an election" "So people runing can advertize ideas"	13	10	14	09
4. Simplistic concept of election, mention of fragment of political progress: "To elect people" "To represent the people" "To, you know, organize the elections and stuff"	05	13	22	20
5. Provide choice, competition "If there were only one party, well, that wouldn't be good, cuz you've got to have a choice" "No point in having an election if you don't have a choice"	00	04	19	20
6. Higher order concept of election, representation "Can't do without them because they represent different ideas" "You could get rid of parties but really I think they'd still be there because people think differently"	00	04	05	31
(N)	(62)	(68)	(64)	(54)

Ages: $X^2=98.49(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 35

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 36 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT ARE THE ADVANTAGES OF HAVING POLITICAL PARTIES?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Misinterpretation, simplistic approval: "They're to have fun" "To meet people" "They're good" "They help you"	38	12	19	15
2. Confusion with government: "They help people with their problems" "They tell you what to do" "To keep people from doing bad things" "It's to avoid fights"	26	32	10	06
3. Convenience and utility: "They make it easier" "They pick the right man to run" "They run the election"	14	15	09	06
4. Advertizing and influence; party loyalty: "They help get candidates elected" "They inform voters" "If you're in a party you know who to vote for"	07	18	23	28
5. Equal representation: "They represent what you think" "So two sides of an argument are represented in the government" "You can say what you want and get what you want"	04	11	15	17
6. Provides choice, competition: "You have a chance to choose what you want" It makes it easier to change governments" "The majority gets to choose" "If you didn't have two parties it would be like a dictatorship"	12	12	23	28
(N)	(74)	(73)	(78)	(86)

Ages: $X^2=62.42(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 36

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 37 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT ARE THE DISADVANTAGES OF POLITICAL PARTIES?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Misinterpretation, unreflective: "Someone might try to crash your party" "They might not pass enough laws" "Parties are bad"	63	45	21	26
2. Disorder, confusion: "Too much disagreement" "Voters aren't sophisticated enough" "It's hard to remember all the issues and stuff"	05	07	06	11
3. Possibility of dissatisfaction: "If the Democrats win, the Republicans will be unhappy" "The ones who don't get elected will be mad and might cause trouble"	23	23	17	11
4. Cynicism, distrust: "You can't be sure what a party really stands for" "All you see is their public image" "It's all just advertizing" "They play politics too much"	02	04	21	21
5. Lack of alternatives, elitism: "Some people don't like either party and then they don't have a say in the gov't" "Parties are all the same; if someone with a new idea tries to run he won't be able to"	05	14	19	15
6. Disadvantages of party loyalty: "People pick a party instead of a man" "If people don't split their ticket, you can get someone bad along with someone good"	00	05	13	16
(N)	(73)	(71)	(73)	(73)

Ages: $X^2=62.63(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 37

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 38 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT DO YOU THINK THOSE TWO PARTIES STOOD FOR?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Confusion, misinterpretation, or use of labels without understanding "For having fun" "For the government and the United Nations: "Like Democrats and Republicans, but I don't know what they are" "To elect people"	67	54	20	20
2. Simplistic concept of representation "If there were two political parties, there'd be two different sides of thinking" "Republicans and Democrats, like they vote differently"	11	08	17	10
3. Legalistic "For their laws to make the island a better place" "One could be agreeing with the laws that were made and the other could be disagreeing"	16	23	19	13
4. Liberal/Conservative dimension One for a more liberal government and the other for a more restrictive government" "One stood for changes in the government and the other stood for the old form"	04	08	18	25
5. Distinction between groups of people, "One was for the majority groups and the other was for the minority" "One group thought the men should govern and the other group was for women governing"	01	02	15	17
6. Distinction between people according to social class, economic status "They stood for different economic groups, the rich and the poor" "The Democratic party stood for the Average person's rights but the Republic party stood for the rich and the businessmen"	01	04	11	15
(N)	(85)	(90)	(84)	(84)

Ages: $X^2=93.52(15)$, $p<.001$

TABLE 38

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 39 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

IN YOUR OPINION IS THERE MUCH DIFFERENCE BETWEEN POLITICAL PARTIES?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Confusion: "They're the same cuz everyone has fun at parties" "There's no sense in having two parties"	30	11	12	03
2. No, or little difference: "No, I don't think there are any" "Well, maybe, no I don't think so"	48	50	27	24
3. Yes; unelaborated or confused concept of differences: "Yes, they are different" "Yes they are different but I don't know how" "Yes or there wouldn't be two of them"	11	06	11	08
4. Simplistic concept of representation: "They have different ideas" "They represent different sides of different issues" "They have different thoughts on different things"	06	17	23	17
5. Specific interest groups: "Yes, the farmers are for one party, and ah, the city people are for another"	03	11	05	11
6. Higher order differentation between parties: S shows conflict about differences being "all or none" "They all want the same thing but the way in which they go about it is different" "They talk different but really they want the same thing"	02	05	23	37
(N)	(100)	(100)	(101)	(95)

Ages: $X^2=106.72(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 39

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 40 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT WOULD YOU LOOK FOR IN A CANDIDATE?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Unelaborated personal qualities: "The best man that can do the best job" "Someone who will help the people and keep them out of trouble" "The man who will treat them right and know what they do"	65	37	22	10
2. Concrete; specific abilities or talents: "Someone who could understand things and work with people" "Someone with a knowledge of government" "A good leader who knows laws and sees that people get their rights"	13	21	21	20
3. Representative stance, emphasis on working for community: "Someone who will listen to the people and work for the whole community, not just themselves"	10	15	17	26
4. Past performance, evaluation of candidate's background: "See what he believes, you know, what he's done in the past" "See what his record is" "Make sure he's kept the laws and everything"	08	06	15	06
5. Agreement with subject: "I would want someone who would agree with me" Someone who would believe in what I do"	00	08	13	26
6. Truthfulness and sincerity: "Well, someone who really means what he says and isn't just making fancy speeches" "Someone who believes what he says and will really do the job"	04	12	13	11
(N)	(112)	(107)	(111)	(106)

Ages: $X^2=114.36(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 40

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 41 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WOULD YOU VOTE FOR A QUALIFIED MAN WHO DIDN'T AGREE WITH YOU,

OR ONE WHO WASN'T AS WELL QUALIFIED AND HELD YOUR VIEWS?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. More qualified, no explanation: "I'd vote for the first one" "I'd vote for the one that was better qualified"	34	27	17	09
2. More qualified, utilitarian stance: "It's good to have the better man serve cause the other one might mess things up" "Well, if you picked the one who was unqualified, when he got into office he'd pick others who were unqualified"	08	23	33	36
3. Less qualified, no explanation: "I'd vote for the one who's views were the same as mine." "The other one, the one who agreed with me"	52	34	16	10
4. Less qualified, utilitarian stance: "The second one, because the better qualified one could do something I wouldn't believe in, so I'd be against it and wouldn't vote for him"	06	10	28	32
5. Less qualified, optimism about candidate's ability to improve: "I'd vote for the second one, because he'd get qualified in time" "You learn by experience and listening, so I'd vote for the second one"	00	06	06	14
(N)	(106)	(107)	(78)	(101)

Ages: $X^2=120.42(12)$, $p < .001$

One suspects that the ability to discern various interest groups within a society goes hand in hand with the perception that there is a hierarchy of interests. For it is at this point that we encounter a first taste of the cynicism allegedly so prevalent among American voters. To be sure, there is a thin line between mere pragmatism and cynicism. For instance, a substantial number of older subjects chose the less qualified candidate who agreed with them over someone who was more qualified but disagreed with them on purely utilitarian grounds. It just didn't make much sense to vote against yourself, they declared (see Table 40, p. 67). (Interestingly enough, many of the sixth graders also preferred the less qualified candidate, but they were unable to articulate a reason.) Indeed, when asked directly what they would look for in a candidate, the twelfth graders who stated simply that he should concur with their own point of view were almost as numerous as those who emphasized the more sterling qualities of truth, sincerity, and unselfishness.

However, when queried about the disadvantages of political parties, the older subjects responded in terms that went beyond matter-of-fact pragmatism. Over 50% of the tenth and twelfth graders who answered this question (roughly 30% of the total subjects responding for those two age groups) had some sort of pointed complaint (Table 38, p. 65). Political parties were all "public image," or they were all the same ("If someone with a new idea tries to run, he won't be able to."), or they were likely to be too free with their nominations ("If people don't split their ticket, you can get someone bad along with someone good.") Perhaps this underlying disaffection helps to explain why even the twelfth graders appeared to be largely at a loss when it came to differentiating between political parties (Table 39, p. 66)--although the abstract, if not to say vague, nature of the question may be in some measure responsible as well.

This leads us to the final and most troublesome point about the development of ideas regarding political parties. It has been said that the time-honored and traditional distinctions between parties are breaking down in America and perhaps our subjects are only reflecting such a trend. Nonetheless, we do find it perplexing that on a number of items, even the oldest subjects tended to give what might be considered rather low-level responses. Indeed, this section of the interview was the only one which drew a substantial number of "don't know" responses from even the oldest subjects. For instance, on question 34, what is the purpose of political parties, roughly 15% of the twelfth graders said they did not know. Of the older subjects who actually responded to the questions on political parties, a considerable number were capable of identifying the cleavages which underlie partisan politics, but they were for the most part unable to go beyond this. Few, for example, suggested that parties might help to clarify the issues in a campaign--or even inform voters about those issues. If any information were to be provided, the twelfth graders seemed to think it would be more likely to involve

candidates rather than issues. While we have no ready explanation for this result (and it may come closer to mirroring inadequacies in our own system of partisan politics than anything else), it is certainly one which bears pondering.

Chapter IV

RESULTS
(NEW QUESTIONS)

Having reviewed the developmental results for the first three parts of the Desert Island Questionnaire--Government and Law, Individual and State, and Partisan Politics--we are ready to take a look at the items which come under the heading, Contemporary Problems of Urban Government. Most of these were questions which we had never employed before, and they were designed specifically to explore some of the more pressing issues of the day. They are divided into five sub-headings: Crime and Delinquency, Police-community Relations, Poverty and Unemployment, Class Distinctions and Discrimination, and The Political Process and Dissent. Since these were for the most part a group of "untried and untested" items, we were particularly interested in the results. How would they compare, we wondered, with those we had observed for the "older" questions. As will be seen, despite the difference in content, the overall pattern of response for both sets of items was strikingly similar.

Crime and Delinquency

The questions included under the rubric of Crime and Delinquency were as follows:

53. Here was another case. A man was caught stealing supplies from his neighbors. He was known to be a lazy fellow and most people who knew him didn't trust him. Some people believed that he ought to be put into jail, but there were others who weren't so sure. They said that just because jail was the usual way of dealing with criminals didn't make it the best way. Perhaps, since the people on the island were starting a new system, they might think of new and better ways to deal with people who got into trouble. What do you think would be the best way to deal with this man?

54. What would be the best reason for putting people who commit crimes in jail. What would be the best reason against it?

55. Some people said that the important thing was not to punish people but to teach them not to commit crimes in the future. What would be the best way of doing that?

56. Most people who go to jail don't seem to learn their lesson, for the great majority end up there again. Why do you think this is?

57. There were some people who hoped it might be possible, given enough time, to eliminate crime altogether from the island. Do you think it is possible?

58. If you had the power to take whatever actions you thought was necessary, what would you do to reduce or eliminate crime?

D12. There were some youngsters on the island who were hard to control and were always getting into trouble. What do you think is the cause of that?

D13. What should be done about that?

D14. In one case of a boy who was in trouble, the authorities went to talk to the family, but found out that they didn't seem to care very much about the boy. What do you think should be done in a case like that?

The questions in this section may be regarded as transitional between the "old" and the "new." Beall (1967) had developed a set of codes for the items on crime (Questions 53-58) and our own research group formulated a fresh set for the items on delinquency. The results are presented in Tables 41-51, pp. 72-82. What is most impressive about them, we think, is the extent to which the questions on crime and delinquency seem "all of a piece." On those questions which have to do with crime and punishment, the younger subjects give startlingly harsh replies. Some actually advocate putting the lazy man who stole to death (Table 41, p. 72). A substantial percentage also express the belief that only punitive measures can prevent criminals from relapsing or eliminate crime altogether (Tables 44 and 48, pp. 75 and 79). In addition, a fair number of the younger subjects--particularly the sixth graders--simply become confused by the items and are unable to give a coherent answer. The best examples of such confusion emerge on Question 54; What would be the best reason for putting someone in jail and what would be the best reason against it. (Tables 42 and 43, pp. 73-74). By contrast, the older subjects are far more likely to recommend rehabilitation rather than punishment for criminal offenses, many of them arguing that jail is not an effective deterrent and that it may actually do more harm than good (Table 43, see category 6; p. 74, Table 45 p. 76). Ironically, this concern for the individual law-breaker and the desire to help are accompanied by a certain degree of pessimism, perhaps the result of the very same insight into human nature which leads the older subjects to favor rehabilitation over punishment. At any rate, in answer to the question of whether or not it would ever be possible to eliminate crime altogether, the older subjects are far more likely than the younger ones to express the view that law-breaking is inevitable in any society (Tables 46 and 47, pp. 77 and 78). (Of course, it is difficult to compare the younger subjects with the older ones on this issue because so many of the former failed to give a coherent response to the question.) It is important to note at this point that we have encountered both these trends before. The shift from a punitive to a more humanitarian orientation occurred on the Law and Government questions and the items of partisan politics elicited a certain degree of cynicism and pessimism. We might add that these are

TABLE 41

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 53 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE WITH THE LAZY THIEF?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Punitive: "Put him in jail" "Send him back where he came from" "Capital punishment" "Put him in hard labor for life"	52	45	34	18
2. Punitive (lenient and corrective), conditionally punitive: "Talk to him, give him another chance and if he does it again, put him in jail" "Make him replace or pay for what he took"	33	32	23	17
3. Legalistic: "Give him a fair trial and figure it all out" "Have him go to court and decide if he's guilty or not" "Hear each side of the story"	04	05	05	09
4. Non-punitive, rehabilitative: "Get a psychiatrist to find out what his problem is or why he doesn't have any initiative" "Try to get him a constructive job that he'll like and do well at"	08	12	25	38
5. Alternative approaches: Mention that jail doesn't solve any problems and new methods should be implemented; "Prison just hardens you, there's go to be a better way"	03	06	14	17
(N)	(114)	(106)	(106)	(99)

Ages: $X^2=83.02(12)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 42

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 54 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT WOULD BE THE BEST REASON FOR PUTTING PEOPLE

WHO COMMIT CRIMES IN JAIL?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic & very confused: "For what they did wrong" "Killing" "They find his fingerprints and then they find him and put him in jail"	32	24	15	06
2. Punishment (any form): "People who commit crimes have to be punished" "They get put in there for punishment" "You've got to punish them and put them in jail"	23	12	11	08
3. Prevention - Deterrent: "To keep them out of trouble" "To teach them a lesson" "They will learn not to break the law"	35	36	36	29
4. Public protection: "You have to put them in jail to get them off the streets and away from society" "If it goes so as to hurt somebody then you should put them in jail"	06	08	17	32
5. Rehabilitation, correction, reform: "They see how bad it is to be locked up and say 'when I get out I'll never do anything bad again so I don't have to ever come back here"	03	13	13	18
(N)	(110)	(101)	(98)	(83)

Ages: $X^2=67.32(12)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 43

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 54 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT WOULD BE THE BEST REASON AGAINST PUTTING PEOPLE

WHO COMMIT CRIMES IN JAIL?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Confusion, misinterpretation	49	28	12	06
2. No reason given: "If you do something wrong you got to go to jail and that's all"	08	12	05	07
3. Reference to harshness or indication that jail is inappropriate for minor crimes: "You shouldn't make anyone stay cooped up in just a little cell" "If they murder or steal they should go to jail, but not for just a little crime"	11	16	13	07
4. Innoncence or injustice: "Maybe it was a mistake" "Maybe he's not really guilty" "Maybe he was framed and someone lied at the trial"	08	11	14	10
5. Ineffective, not pragmatic, negative utility: "They don't learn anything in jail; they just get out and do it all over" "It might make him insane" "He'll get influenced in jail and start murdering when he gets out"	18	24	43	49
6. Stigma, social reasons, adjustment problems: "They might get disgusted with themselves" "He'd get madder at people who put him there and try to get even" "Try to find the root of his problem and start from there; putting him in jail doesn't do any good"	07	09	14	20
(N)	(76)	(82)	(86)	(83)

Ages: $X^2=68.35(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 44

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 55 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT WOULD BE THE BEST WAY TO TEACH PEOPLE NOT TO COMMIT CRIMES?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Confusion, vague, simplistic: "Just let them steal off their own land" (S. can't make heads or tails out of this question)	33	12	04	01
2. Punitive with an emphasis on punishment: "Whip them" "Fine them" "You just have to punish them, punishment is the only way for correction" "Send them to jail for 30 days"	34	39	28	26
3. Pessimism: "It wouldn't be possible to teach them" "I don't see no other way of teaching them not to commit crimes"	03	14	14	12
4. Education: (formal school teaching and parental teaching) "Have a special place where they could go and meet and teach them that crime doesn't pay"	17	18	16	23
5. Appeal to reasoning: "Just give them one more chance, maybe that will stop them (Sort of a probation stance) "Get somebody to talk to them and find out why they do these things"	05	15	30	18
6. Rehabilitation: (alternatives to jail) "Try to rehabilitate the people back into society instead of locking them up away from it" "Start special homes or programs to help these people"	06	03	08	20
(N)	(93)	(95)	(100	(90)

Ages: $X^2=92.79(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 45

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 56 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHY DO PEOPLE WHO GO TO JAIL USUALLY COMMIT CRIMES AGAIN?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic & confusion: "They might burn houses down and people will catch them" "If they do it again when they came out I'd say they might as well stay in"	43	21	11	05
2. Negative character traits: "They're just lazy, apathetic" "They're just trying to be smart because they think they will get away with it"	21	21	20	15
3. Authoritarian, insufficient penalties and/or punishments: "They just didn't stay long enough to learn their lesson" "It's not a bad enough punishment cuz they don't work"	21	23	18	20
4. Victim of social ostracism or suspicion: "No one wants them to work for them cause they've been in jail, instead of just giving them a chance, they say no" (Difficult adjustment back into society)	03	09	13	19
5. Personal motives; hatred, revenge and rebelliousness: "They can't wait to get out and get revenge on society or the police, or whoever put them there"	10	18	19	12
6. Pragmatic: "Jail doesn't deal with their real problems" "They need some kind of help, psychiatric or something, not a jail sentence, jail isn't the answer"	03	08	18	29
(N)	(105)	(104)	(103)	(97)

Ages: $X^2=89.64(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 46

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 57 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

DO YOU THINK IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ELIMINATE CRIME

ALTOGETHER FROM THE ISLAND?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic: "The whole island would be nothing but bad people" "Maybe they couldn't catch the person who was doing it"	50	32	19	08
2. Punitive: "You'd have to brainwash the people" "Split the bad people up from the ones who don't commit crimes"	15	11	03	03
3. Group pressure/perserverance: "If everyone followed the laws it would be possible" "If all the people would cooperate, it would" (also, environment and upbringing)	14	12	09	10
4. Pessimism; simplistic (innate, negative personal traits): "Like they say, one bad apple can spoil the whole barrel" "There will always be troublemakers, no one is perfect"	12	32	38	49
5. Pessimism, elaborate and/or conditional: (more on a societal/community level) "When you have racial groups there will always be crime" "If you have a large group of people there will be crime"	06	13	25	24
6. Rehabilitation: "If people are given work and friendship it would be possible" "If there were enough jobs and opportunity for the people it would be possible"	03	01	06	07
(N)	(105)	(104)	(107)	(101)

Ages: $X^2=96.07(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 47

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 57 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

DO YOU THINK IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ELIMINATE CRIME

ALTOGETHER FROM THE ISLAND?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. "No" Crime cannot be eliminated from the island	48	66	72	75
2. "Yes" Crime can be eliminated	44	30	19	22
3. Conditional answers--It all depends	08	05	09	03
(N)	(117)	(111)	(110)	(103)

Ages: $X^2=26.69$ (6), $p<.001$

TABLE 48

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 58 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

IF YOU HAD THE POWER TO TAKE WHATEVER ACTIONS YOU THOUGHT WERE NECESSARY, WHAT WOULD YOU DO TO REDUCE OR ELIMINATE CRIME?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic, confused: "I would try to stop crime if I could" "Tell them not to do bad things" "I think children should be able to make their own rules and follow them"	21	05	05	01
2. Punitive: "Put 'em in jail" "Throw them in jail and give them nasty food so they won't do anything to come back" "Punish the person even if it means beating them to death just so I get my point across"	44	39	33	20
3. Legalistic, Orwellian: "I'd put cameras on the streets and alleys so people would know they were being watched" "Get more police patrol in more areas and have police all over the island watching people"	18	26	17	25
4. Pessimism: "There's nothing you can do" "There will always be crime"	03	10	09	10
5. Appeal to reason, education: "Educate the parents and they'll teach their kids not to do wrong" "I'd set up a system of counseling or get a psychiatrist to find out what's wrong with them"	11	18	28	25
6. Rehabilitation: "I'd probably start by getting the poor people off the street and getting them jobs cause they're usually the ones committing crimes cause they don't have money for some things or can't afford it"	02	02	07	19
(N)	(90)	(98)	(98)	(84)

Ages: $X^2=70.77(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 49

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D12 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHY TEENAGERS GOT INTO TROUBLE WITH THE POLICE?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic, nonsense, moralistic: "They wanted the police to get after them" "They ought to obey"	26	17	07	02
2. Environmental, parental indulgence, poor examples: "They weren't raised right" "They saw the police doing wrong so they figured they could too"	37	49	43	38
3. Rebellion: "They were against the laws" "They didn't like the way things were going" "They were scared of the police"	19	13	17	10
4. Neglect, mistreatment: "No one ever cared about them" "Their parents never treated them right"	06	03	04	06
5. Personal motives, exoneration, desire for attention: (execuses for delinquent behavior) "They're overactive" "They like to fool around" "They're sick"	13	14	24	33
6. Assertion of individuality; manifestation of the generation gap: "They didn't feel anyone was listening to them and couldn't get their attention any other way"	00	03	04	12
(N)	(109)	(104)	(112)	(104)

Ages: $X^2=71.83(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 50

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D13 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT JUVENILE DELINQUENTS?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic and confused: "Teach him what is right" "The police should hide their guns"	49	22	06	02
2. Punitive: "Put them in jail" "Send them to gas chambers" "Put them in juvenile"	41	29	24	16
3. Locus of responsibility assigned to parents: "Tell the parents if they didn't do anything, that the kid would have to go to reform school" "Take him away from his parents"	05	23	25	18
4. Legalistic: "They should have stricter curfews" "They ought to be placed in juvenile homes so that they'll learn their lesson"	02	12	23	24
5. Pessimism, laissez-faire: "There's nothing you can do" "If they don't want to obey, there's really nothing you can do about it"	01	03	03	04
6. Rehabilitation, empathy, respect for individuality: "Someone ought to talk to them and find out what's bothering them" "People ought to show them more respect"	03	12	20	36
(N)	(101)	(104)	(109)	(97)

Ages: $X^2=152.64(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 51

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D14 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT OUGHT TO BE DONE WITH JUVENILE DELINQUENTS?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic, confused, moralistic: "Tell the parents about the kids" "Have him live with other relatives" "I don't know why the parents don't care about him more"	53	22	14	06
2. Punitive responses or responses which place some sort of pressure on the parents: "Someone ought to go out and warn them" "Put the parents in jail" "Fine the kids"	19	19	23	12
3. Institutional solutions: "He ought to be made a ward of the court" "They ought to place him in a juvenile home"	25	49	43	39
4. Pessimism: "I don't think there's anything you can do" "If the parents don't care about him, I don't think there's anything you can do"	01	04	04	01
5. Conditional responses; Level I: "Well, it depends whether or not the parents want him. In such a case (They don't want him) the boy ought to be placed elsewhere"	02	05	13	25
6. Conditional responses; Level II-Age of Majority concept: "Well, if he's old enough to care for himself he ought to get a job, if he's too young he should be placed in a foster home"	00	02	03	17
(N)	(109)	(107)	(104)	(103)

Ages: $X^2=141.30(15)$, $p < .001$

trends we will encounter again, and they provide support for the view that adolescents employ a common frame of reference in conceptualizing political issues.

Perhaps the most intriguing set of items in this section however, are the ones which deal with delinquency (D12-D14, See Tables 49-51, pp. 80-82). These were questions we had never employed in any previous research and hence we were particularly interested in the response to them. As is evident from Tables 49, 50, and 51, the development of views regarding delinquency is similar in some respects to the development of those regarding crime. With increasing age the teenagers in our sample become less inclined to offer punitive solutions for youthful law-breaking and more likely to favor rehabilitative programs (Table 50, p. 81). However, a theme emerges on these items which we have not observed previously and at first glance it appears to be unique. The reader may recall that when asked to describe the motives which underlies crime, the younger subjects tended to cite rather global personal qualities ("badness" "wickedness") while the older subjects stressed grievances against society, deprivation of some sort, or deleterious environmental circumstances ("faulty upbringing" "lack of education"). When our subjects were pressed to account for delinquency an apparent reversal occurred. About the same number of subjects at <u>all</u> age levels mentioned some type of environmental factor, but a substantially greater number of older subjects than younger subjects emphasized personal qualities (Table 49, p. 80). But taking a closer look at these responses, one discovers that they are not of the vague, simplistic variety given by the younger subjects. Rather what they seem to represent is a kind of <u>identification</u> with delinquent youth. Adolescents become antisocial, declare our older subjects (who are themselves adolescents) either because of excess energy ("They're overactive" "They like to fool around") or because they need to be recognized as individuals ("They didn't feel anyone was listening to them and couldn't get attention any other way"). Similarly, when asked what should be done with a delinquent youngster whose parents would not take responsibility for him, a large proportion of the 18-year-olds (42 percent) gave what was in essence a rather sophisticated response. They replied that it all depended on the circumstances. If it could be determined that the parents really didn't want him, he ought to be placed elsewhere. Some of our older subjects even went so far as to recognize that the hypothetical delinquent's age was a significant variable. If the boy were old enough to shift for himself, he ought simply to leave home and get a job. If not, he ought to be placed in a foster home. In other words, on this item, the older subjects could envision multiple possibilities, a sign that they had fully comprehended the issue. To be sure, this type of "conditional" answer appeared on other items, but it accounted for a much smaller proportion of the responses--even among older subjects.

One suspects that what is at work here is simply an extension of a development we have already observed. The older subjects in general demonstrated more understanding human needs and motives than the younger ones. Delinquency was an issue which could have been expected to touch them more closely than most. Indeed, a few 18-year-olds spontaneously mentioned their own brushes with the law at this point in the interview --hence, the more insightful and complex response.

Poverty and Unemployment

Also included in our survey of contemporary issues were two factors which are generally thought to play a strong role in the genesis of crime: poverty and unemployment. The questions we included under the heading of poverty and unemployment were as follows:

> 28a. There are some desirable laws which work a hardship on poor people. For example, there are certain health laws which almost everyone believes are desirable--like requiring regular dental examinations for your children-but which many poorer families would not be able to afford. What should be done in those cases?
>
> 57a. Do you think it would ever be possible to eliminate poverty?
>
> D3. Another problem they had to deal with was what to do about families who did not keep up their property. They did not pick up the trash outside the house, and things like that. What should be done about that?
>
> D15. After the island society was established for a while, it became clear that some people on the island were poorer than others. What were the reasons for this?
>
> D16. Here is an example of one kind of problem they had to face. There was one man who could not seem to keep a job. He would be late for work a lot, or would not come in at all. Why do you think he was that way?
>
> D17. What should they do about him?
>
> D18. They tried various things, but nothing seemed to help. This man had a family which he could not support because he couldn't hold a job. What do you think ought to happen to them?

Indeed, since the patterns which emerged from this set of items were similar in many respects to those we have already encountered in the previous section on crime, we will deal with them in a more cursory fashion. Tables 52-59, pp. 85-92 reveal some by now familiar trends. Once again, the older subjects display a more complex and compassionate perspective on human misfortune than the younger subjects. People who

TABLE 52

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D3 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT TO DO ABOUT PEOPLE WHO WON'T PICK UP THEIR TRASH?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic: "They should be forced" "They should make them" "The government should do something" (but what it should do is not specified)	38	14	08	08
2. Punitive, moralistic: "They should take their land away" "They should put them in jail" "They should want to keep things neat"	18	17	16	08
3. Legalistic: "They should have thirty days in which to clean it up and then be fined" "They should pass a law against it"	22	42	42	28
4. Systemic or organizational: "They should have a garbage collection" "They should elect a person to go around and inspect"	11	17	13	19
5. Emphasis on autonomy, individual rights: "There's nothing you can do" "If it's just their property, you're going against their rights if you make them clean it up"	08	05	08	10
6. Evidence of community awareness: "Well, they're not doing their fair share to keep up the island" "It would spread sickness and there'd be an epidemic"	05	05	13	27
(N)	(109)	(110)	(112)	(103)

Ages: $X^2=83.93(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 53

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D4 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHY SOME PEOPLE DON'T LIKE TO PICK UP TRASH?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Personal qualities: "They're lazy, trashy" "They don't care" "They're selfish"	63	54	35	32
2. Environmental, educational, hereditary: "They were brought up wrong" "Maybe they weren't taught right at school" "It's their nature, it's a habit"	06	13	20	18
3. Excuse, justification for: "Maybe they have a large family and don't have time" "Maybe they don't have any money"	06	08	09	13
4. Rebellion, social protest: "Maybe they don't like going along with the gov't" "They don't like the community" "They want their freedom"	11	04	05	02
5. Lack of pride: "They just don't care about the way things look" "They don't care about how their neighborhood looks" "They don't care how their property looks"	08	16	20	19
6. Unwillingness to abide by social contract: "They don't care about other people" "They dont care about society"	06	06	11	16
(N)	(107)	(109)	(113)	(104)

Ages: $X^2=51.16(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 54

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D15 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHY SOME PEOPLE ARE POORER THAN OTHERS.

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic: "Some were poorer than others and some were rich" (Very vague kind of nothing answers)	46	11	09	05
2. Lower level education or occupational reasons: (S. mentions schooling or jobs as a factor in creating proverty but doesn't specify what role they play.)	13	24	08	04
3. Higher level educational and occupational reasons: "Some people don't have a very good education so they aren't qualified for good jobs and they don't make much money"	04	17	27	22
4. Personal qualities, lack of responsibility: "They just spend money needlessly" "They were too lazy to work"	18	25	24	19
5. Extenuating circumstances; (Familial, personal, individual excuses): "Maybe they were poor when they came over and never got good jobs and just stayed that way"	09	14	19	18
6. Extenuating circumstances; (Distributive problem, discrepency in taxes and farm lands): "Simply some people take advantage of the system" "Some were discriminated against"	11	08	13	31
(N)	(114)	(107)	(108)	(103)

Ages: $X^2=134.84(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 55

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D16 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE MAN WHO COULD NOT HOLD A JOB?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Unreflective or external reasons: "Maybe he just slept too long" "Maybe he lived too far from work"	26	09	05	07
2. Reference to some sort of internal feeling state or health problem: "Maybe he was lazy" "Maybe he was sick" "Maybe he was tired"	42	37	32	24
3. Environmental problems; either specific or general: "Maybe the family was poor to begin with" "Maybe there were problems in his family"	07	11	13	18
4. Occupational dissatisfaction or empathy expressed for man: "Maybe he wasn't doing the job he wanted to" "Maybe he had some sort of trouble" "Maybe he had a good excuse"	17	28	26	26
5. Lack of work ethic; irresponsibility: "Maybe he wanted to have things without working for them" "Maybe he has no motivation"	08	15	23	25
(N)	(194)	(108)	(112)	(106)

Ages: $X^2=50.33(12)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 56

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D17 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT SHOULD THEY DO ABOUT HIM?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Unreflective, simplistic: "Get him an alarm clock" "Have the family get him up" "Change him to the day shift"	21	12	06	00
2. Punitive: "Fire him" "Take him off and hire someone else" "Make him retire"	38	38	27	22
3. Conditional responses, strategies, pragmatism: (if then reasoning) "Give him another chance and if he still can't get to work on time, then fire him"	14	19	28	31
4. Rehabilitation: "Try to find out what he's really interested in and let him work at that" "Find an easier job for him"	24	19	27	38
5. Laissez-faire or emphasis on autonomy: "If he doesn't want to work, I guess you can't do anything" "If he doesn't want to work, that's his business"	04	12	12	09
(N)	(110)	(108)	(111)	(98)

Ages: $X^2=52.50(12)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 57

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D18 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT DO YOU THINK SHOULD HAPPEN TO HIS FAMILY?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic: "People should give them money" "He should work harder" "People should share with him"	27	15	05	09
2. Simplistic conception of welfare: (unsophisticated mention of government) "The government should give them money" "The government should help them out"	14	25	24	26
3. Sophisticated conception of welfare: "The government ought to see that the man has training for a new job" "They ought to go on ADC"	02	21	23	16
4. Punitive orientation; negative consequences of his unemployment, w/no attention to economic factors. "His wife should divorce him" "They ought to take his family away"	17	11	09	12
5. Denial of problem defeatist orientation: "You might try to give him another job but I don't think it would work" (no real solution offered, just pessimistic attitude)	08	07	09	07
6. Responsibility shifted to other family members: "I guess the mother would have to go out and get a job" "Maybe they could go live with other relatives"	32	21	31	30
(N)	(102)	(103)	(101)	(91)

Ages: $X^2=48.81(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 58

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 28A BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT TO DO ABOUT POOR FAMILIES

WHO CAN'T AFFORD HEALTH CARE?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Vague, simplistic: "Just give it to them free." "Let them have it anyway." "Have the rich people help them."	48	23	15	11
2. Fee adjustment: "Have them pay lower fees" "Have them pay half as much" "Let them pay what they can"	17	19	14	08
3. Special personnel: "Have a special doctor who comes around and checks them, free of charge" "Have a dentist who comes around and checks their teeth for free"	06	06	03	02
4. Systemic solution without reference to welfare: "Have a special clinic they can go to free of charge" "Have a private insurance plan" (as opposed to public, national plan)	03	12	29	14
5. Vague references to welfare: "The government should pay for it" "The whole city should get together and pay for it" "They should set up a committee to take care of it"	20	27	16	22
6. Differentiated reference to welfare: Any answer which makes reference to financing a health care system through taxes, references to medicare, medicaid, federal programs. "They should have a clinic financed by the government" "They should have a Federal Assistance Plan"	07	13	23	44
(N)	(107)	(105)	(107)	(102)

Ages: $X^2=109.51(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 59

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 57a BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

DO YOU THINK IT WOULD EVER BE POSSIBLE TO ELIMINATE POVERTY?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Confusion or simplistic: "Yes make a law" "Take a vote and see if they want to get rid of it"	24	08	03	04
2. Passive solution: "Have the government give them an equal amount of money" "Give them a share of taxes" "Have the government help them"	40	26	19	26
3. Active solution:(emphasis on self-help) "Teach them to do a job" "Send them to a technical school" "Give them a job so they can work for themselves"	26	27	24	17
4. Cynicism re: the poor: "Some people are just lazy and won't work" "Some people are just intelligent and won't get good jobs" "Some people just figure that why should they work when someone will pay their bills"	04	09	13	10
5. Cynicism re: the establishment, fatalism: "There will always be poor people, cuz there just aren't enough jobs" "The powers that be really don't care, or they'd stop spending so much money just to go to the moon"	05	31	41	43
(N)	(98)	(90)	(68)	(81)

Ages: $X^2=67.95(12)$, $p < .001$

do not keep up their property and individuals who cannot hold down jobs are not necessarily "wicked" or "worthless" in the eyes of the 10th and 12th graders, rather they have, for whatever reason, become alienated from the system. Those who help to create slums may do so because they feel no sense of community responsibility or because they were not properly socialized in the first place (Tables 52 and 53, pp. 85-86). The man who cannot manage to remain employed may lack adequate motivation or have some sort of pressing emotional concern (Table 55, p. 88). It is this humanitarian as opposed to punitive or unreflective stance, one suspects, which makes to the older subjects far more likely than the younger ones to stress the importance of rehabilitation in aiding the unemployed (Table 56, p. 89). Further counterpointing the age differences, the younger subjects are often stymied when asked to explain why some people are poorer than others, while the older subjects tend for the most part to cite shortcomings of the society--lack of education, lack of occupational opportunity, discrimination (Table 54, p. 87).

This is not to say that the older subjects are inclined to excuse those who litter or cannot work. In fact, with regard to a man who cannot retain a job, the younger subjects are actually more likely to mention some sort of extenuating circumstance--e.g., the man "lives too far from work," "doesn't have an alarm clock," or "feels tired." However, the older subjects seem to have a far more differentiated view both of the individual and of society. Harking back to a theme we noted earlier, the older subjects seem to have a far more differentiated view both of the bind people together. Individual citizens ought to do their part in keeping the community clean and in finding gainful employment, they declare. However, there are those who through no fault of their own must live in less than luxurious circumstances, and for these people--those who cannot afford adequate health care (Table 58, p. 91) or dependents of the unemployed (Table 57, p. 90)--the state ought to assume some responsibility. Hence, only with the older subjects do we find much explicit reference to "welfare" or "ADC".

But once again--very likely because the older respondents' awareness of the society at large makes them more aware of its defects--a certain note of pessimism appears. When asked whether it would ever be possible to eliminate poverty altogether, the older subjects become rather fatalistic. Over 40 percent of them reply that due to imperfections in the system, the poor "will always be with us" (Table 59, p. 92). Indeed, this last question is one which seems to have inspired a kind of precocious response among the eighth graders. Thirty-seven percent of them also gave this type of answer.

Police-Community Relations

Having concluded the last section on a rather solemn note, we turn to a portion of the interview which provided us with a pleasant surprise.

At the time we collected our data the issue of police brutality was receiving a great deal of publicity. Accordingly, we were most interested in tracing the development of views regarding the police and asked the following set of questions:

> D5. One thing the Council had to do was to hire some people to be policemen. They found that only certain kinds of people were interested in that job. What kinds of people were they?
>
> D6. What kinds of people become policemen in our society?
>
> D7. They found that many people they thought could to the job did not want it. Why do you think that was?
>
> D8. The Council then decided that there had to be special rules for how policemen should behave. Why was that?
>
> D9. What rules should there be?
>
> D10. Some of the people did not like the police, and did not cooperate with them. Why was that?
>
> D11. What can be done to make people cooperate more with the police?

Tables 60-66, pp. 95-101 summarize the responses to these items. Since our sample was predominantly urban and lower class, we had expected that the younger children would have a generally positive opinion of the police but that with increasing age this impression would become more and more negative. Although there are some mild trends in this direction (See Tables 60, 61, and 63, pp. 95-98), the overall perception of the police remains remarkably favorable. To be sure, when asked what sort of people might want to become policemen--either on the hypothetical island or in our own society--the older subjects express somewhat more ambivalence. They are also more likely than the younger subjects to mention the possibility of police brutality when asked why there should be special rules for law enforcement officials. However, much more striking is the extent to which the older subjects appear to apply the same frame of reference to this set of very topical questions that we observed in response to some of the more "classical" questions. Just as the relationship between the ordinary citizen and the state is viewed increasingly as a kind of contract so is the relationship between the police and the community at large. In contrast to the naive and blanket approval of the younger subjects, a substantial proportion of the older respondents describe the police in <u>idealistic</u> terms. For a substantial percentage of the 10th and 12th graders, those who wish to become police are perceived not simply as "good people" or "people who know the law," nor, surprisingly, as "people who want money" or "people who want to beat up other people." Instead they are described as individuals "who have a strong sense of duty" or "people who believe in justice and individual

TABLE 60

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D5 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE WANTED TO BECOME POLICEMEN?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Emphasis on positive personal qualities OR lower-level law and order, patroitism: "People who know the law and believe in their country" (S. uses law and country as mere labels)	76	53	17	04
2. Emphasis on negative qualities OR self-interest: "Mean people" "People who want money" "White people who are prejudice"	08	09	12	09
3. Special qualifications: "People who have a college education" "People who know how to handle criminals" "Intelligent people"	07	12	14	07
4. Ambivalence expressed: "Some just need money but there are some who are honest" "Some are bad, some are good" "All kinds of people become policemen"	00	05	10	14
5. Higher level law and order; patriotism: "People who have a strons sense of duty" "People who wanted to protect the community" "Law abiding people who wanted others to follow the laws"	08	21	34	38
6. Humanitarian-idealistic: "They really wanted to help people and were willing to sacrifice their lives to protect other human beings" "They believed in justice and individual rights under the law"	00	00	12	29
(N)	(106)	(108)	(105)	(101)

Ages: $X^2=211.33(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 61

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D6 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE WANT TO BECOME POLICEMEN IN OUR SOCIETY?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Emphasis on positive personal qualities or lower level law and order, patriotism: "Smart people" "Brave men that are trustful and everything."	57	35	07	04
2. Emphasis on negative qualities or self-interest: "People who try to show off," "People who want to make money."	05	05	12	07
3. Special qualifications: "Well before you become one you probably have to have a test."	28	25	19	08
4. Ambivalence expressed: "Well a good deal of them wanted to keep our places safe, but then a lot of them just want to do it for the badge."	07	11	28	24
5. Higher level law and order; patriotism: "The ones that are willing to help keep the city in order."	03	19	25	40
6. Humanitarian-idealistic: "The kind of people who are interested in people and want to see our land live."	00	05	10	17
(N)	(98)	(103)	(105)	(100)

Ages: $X^2=160.48(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 62

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D7 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHY PEOPLE DIDN'T WANT TO BECOME POLICEMEN?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic, unreflective: "They didn't want to" "They were scared" "They were busy"	30	16	02	01
2. Fear for personal safety or implied fear of violence: "They thought they might get killed" "It's dangerous" "They didn't know how to handle guns"	32	32	19	09
3. Concern with autonomy; lack of law and order orientation: "Maybe they just didn't want to" "People have a right to do what they want" "Maybe they didn't like the laws"	19	15	15	10
4. Social implications; awareness of negative social image; "Maybe they were worried about having to turn in their friends" "People look down on police and call them pigs"	06	23	21	20
5. Status considerations; either preferring more prestigous job or lacking qualifications for policeman: "Maybe they have a better job already" "Maybe they weren't able to do the job"	07	08	18	20
6. Lack of community orientation; reluctance to assume responsibility; conflicting responsibilities, overriding humanitarian concerns: "Maybe they didn't want to get involved"	05	06	25	40
(N)	(108)	(105)	(107)	(103)

Ages: $X^2=138.65(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 63

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D8 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHY THERE HAD TO BE RULES FOR HOW THE POLICEMAN SHOULD BEHAVE.

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic, confused: "Cause the police might say something wrong and the person they was talking to didn't like it and they probably get into a fight"	50	22	05	03
2. Victimization of citizens: "They'd see someone getting beat up and they'd just go by and not do nothing" "They'd arrest people for nothing"	21	28	27	20
3. Police brutality; prejudice: "They might beat people up" "They might be hard on black people"	14	20	40	31
4. Corruption: "They might break the law themselves, but pick someone up for doing the same thing"	05	14	07	07
5. Appeal to a higher stand of behavior: "If the police didn't obey the law, no one would" "The police should set a good example"	08	14	13	15
6. Appeal to higher political principles: "It's an important part of a larger machine" "They should respect the rights of citizens"	02	02	08	24
(N)	(106)	(107)	(110)	(103)

Ages: $X^2=168.84(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 64

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D9 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT RULES SHOULD THERE BE FOR POLICEMEN?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Confused, vague or concrete responses: "They shouldn't be able to swim in swimming pools" "They have to watch the street and watch the people"	39	23	12	00
2. General fairness and even handedness; provide protection: "They shouldn't do favors for their friends" "They should treat everyone the same"	20	20	14	18
3. Avoidance of police brutality; flat statement: "They shouldn't beat up on people" "They shouldn't go in and shoot people"	07	15	15	12
4. Meeting a high standard of conduct; avoiding corruption: "They should have special training" "They should abide by the rules themselves"	15	27	24	29
5. Force as a last resort: "They shouldn't use force unless they absolutely have to" "They should fire a warning shot first"	15	10	20	13
6. Appeal to higher principle; civil libertarian: Responses which stress rights of accused. "They shouldn't be able to search your house without a warrant" "They should be ruled by the majority"	04	05	14	29
(N)	(92)	(96)	(104)	(91)

Ages: $X^2=81.40(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 65

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D10 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHY PEOPLE DON'T LIKE THE POLICE?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Implication that something is vaguely wrong with citizens: "People are bad" "They just don't like the police"	32	30	13	02
2. Negative attitudes toward the police; bad experiences with the police: "They scared of the police" "Maybe they thought the police were treating them unjustly"	37	28	14	20
3. Implication that something is actually wrong with the police: "The police like to go around shooting people" "They like to start riots"	04	06	08	06
4. Erroneous impression from the media; lack of appreciation for what the police are trying to do: "People see them on TV and get the wrong impression" "People don't realize they're there to protect you"	02	08	10	13
5. Anti-authoritarian, interference with autonomy, resentment of special priviledges: "Maybe they didn't want to have anyone telling them what to do"	24	23	44	43
6. Political rebellion: "They came to the island to get away from that type of thing" "Maybe they didn't like the way the gov't in general was functioning"	02	06	10	16
(N)	(109)	(106)	(108)	(104)

Ages: $X^2=85.71(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 66

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D11 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT CAN BE DONE TO MAKE PEOPLE COOPERATE MORE WITH THE POLICE?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic, confusion, and I don't know responses: "Be nice to them and try to do things for them" "IF the police act nicer to them"	62	40	17	09
2. Punitive: "Put people in jail" "Fine them" "Arm the police more heavily"	20	19	14	05
3. Legalistic: "Make laws harder" "Make laws which is right and which is wrong, so that the people on the island know what was right"	03	09	08	06
4. Emphasis on empathizing with the police, improving the image of police, PR work, compromise etc: "They should get together and try to compromise" "Make the police more human like on T.V."	12	24	45	40
5. Emphasis on autonomy, laissez-faire: "IF people don't want to cooperate with the police there's really nothing you can do" "You can't force the people"	03	07	11	14
6. Higher level response: "People should be aware of what the police stand for" "They're trying to protect us and not do any harm"	00	01	06	26
(N)	(117)	(107)	(114)	(104)

Ages: $X^2=167.75(15)$, $p < .001$

rights under the law." For the older subjects, it is the commitment to the community which is stressed, an indication, we think, that the older subjects view the police as part of a larger system of reciprocal rules and regulations rather than some sort of oppressive and impersonal force. Accordingly, people who are reluctant to become officers of the law are described as lacking the necessary commitment to society--or at the very least being concerned about the social implications of assuming such an occupation (Table 62, p. 97). (It is especially interesting to note that in response to the same question the younger subjects cite fears about personal safety as a reason for not wanting to become a policeman. The older subjects barely even mention this as a consideration.) Therefore, although they recognize that the ordinary citizen may resent the police "telling them what to do" or oppose them as a kind of political protest (Table 65, p. 100), the older adolescents in our sample express a good deal of sympathy for the police. In response to the question of "what can be done to make people cooperate more with the police," an impressive number of them advocate trying to make law officials appear more "human" and helping to make the lay public understand that "they're trying to protect us and not to do any harm." (Table 66, p. 101). (By contrast the younger subjects either fail to comprehend the issue altogether or advocate the use of force.)

The older subjects are not, however, completely oblivious to possible abuses of police power. Fully half of the sixth graders were bewildered by the question of why there should be special rules for the police. The older subjects, on the other hand, specifically mentioned "brutality" or "prejudice" as a possible reason. But what is even more striking is that while 31 percent of the twelfth graders gave this type of "stock answer," an even larger proportion (36 percent) observed that the misuse of power would have adverse effects on the morale of the community. "If the police didn't obey the law, no one would." and "They are all part of a larger machine" many of the oldest subjects declared, implying that they were concerned less with violence and brutality and more with the breakdown of society in general. (Table 63, p. 98). Not surprisingly, then, when asked what sort of rules there should be to govern the police, the older subjects stressed the importance of having law officials meet a high standard of conduct ("They should have special training." "They should abide by the rules themselves.") and respecting the rights of private citizens ("They shouldn't be able to search your house without a warrant." "They should be ruled by the majority.") Once again, a substantial number of the younger subjects were unable to grasp the issue or answered in terms of simple "fair play" ("They shouldn't do favors for their friends." "They should treat everyone the same.").

Let us reiterate that though the general response to the "police questions" corresponds remarkably well to what we have observed on other parts of the interview, it was not precisely what we had expected. We had anticipated that the older subjects in particular--many of whom were black, many of whom came from lower class and urban environments--would

express far more hostility toward the police. It is possible that social desirability was a factor--i.e., the subject's eagerness to impress the interviewer--but we doubt that it would account in toto for the results. As we have already suggested, the more likely explanation is that by the time they have reached twelfth grade a considerable proportion of adolescents have acquired a contractural and hierarchial view of society. Hence, regardless of the particular issue at hand, they employ a similar set of political concepts in responding.

The notion of hierarchics brings us to the next topic.

Questions on Class Distinctions and Discrimination

Most societies establish some sort of "pecking order" as they evolve. Consequently in our 1963 study we had asked the following series of questions:

62. As time went on and the new society on the island became more firmly established, it appeared that certain people became especially important and respected. Their opinions carried a lot of weight with others. What kinds of people were they?

62a. "What kind of jobs do people of this sort usually have?"

62b. "What kinds of personalities do these people usually have?"

(We might add that the responses to these items were never analyzed.) The issue of "discrimination" is, of course, closely related to that of "prestige," since both imply a distinction between "superior" and "inferior" groups of people. With the inclusion of black adolescents in our sample, we were particularly interested in exploring the issue of discrimination explicitly. Consequently, we appended the following "new" items to the 1963 series:

D19. At one point in the history of the island, after things were pretty well established, many people felt that, since there was extra land and more than enough jobs, they ought to allow more people to come to the island. The question then arose--what kinds of people should be allowed in? What do you think they might decide?

D21. What kinds of people should they keep out?

D22. Some people thought it would be better to have the new settlers be like the ones who were already on the island--to have the same nationality, to speak the same language, and so on. Others thought it would be better to mix people of different backgrounds. What do you think is better, and why?

D22a. Do you think that it would ever be possible to eliminate all racial prejudice?

We have remarked several times on the emergence of a "sense of community" or "social contract" mentality among the older subjects. Nowhere is it more evident than on this particular set of items. Increasingly, the older subjects respond to these questions on inclusion, exclusion, and status with an eye to the broader social implications. The younger children state rather vaguely that any new settlers should be "nice people," or "people who are kind to others." Or they adopt a "law and order" stance: new settlers should be "people who wouldn't rob or steal." (Table 67, p. 105). Not surprisingly, they also declare that those who should be excluded from the island are "the bad people," "the nasty people," or "bank robbers" and "criminals." (Table 68, 106). Similarly, the younger subjects who advocate having any emigrants be the same as the original inhabitants do so on the basis that it would be "too confusing" to have them be different (Tables 69 and 70, pp. 107-108). And those younger subjects who opt for importing "different" sorts of people to the island tend to offer a rather concrete rationale: it would be nice for the newcomers to speak a different language, for instance, because that way "you would get to learn lots of different languages." (Table 71, p. 109).

For the older subjects "social harmony" "public welfare" and "progress"--indicating a far more differentiated view of society--are the chief considerations. People who are permitted to emigrate to the island must be those who can enhance the espirit de corps, or meet a certain standard of behavior (Table 67, p. 105). Similarly, those to be excluded are the "social misfits" or those bent on undermining the community (Table 69, p. 107). The older subjects who argue that the new immigrants ought to be the same as the original settlers emphasize not the possibility of confusion but rather the threat of dissension and disharmony (Table 70, p. 108). Those who declare that the new arrivals ought to be different from the originals have in mind the indirect and intangible benefits of cross-fertilization rather than the direct and concrete. They argue that having a variety of people on the island would provide the community with new ideas, contribute to progress, or help the islanders in their attempts to establish relations with other nations. Indeed, some of the older subjects (the percentage varies according to the item) carry such liberal notions to the limit and declare that future inhabitants of the island should not have to meet any preconditions whatsoever (Tables 67-69, pp. 105-107). Interestingly enough, the older and younger subjects do not differ much overall on the issue of whether the future settlers on the island should be the same as or different from the original inhabitants. Table 72, p. 110, shows that though fewer of the older subjects insist that the new arrivals be the same, more of them give qualified or ambivalent answers. It is rather the rationale which varies markedly with age, regardless of what position the subject takes.

TABLE 67

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D19 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGE)

WHAT SORTS OF PEOPLE SHOULD BE ALLOWED IN?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Emphasis on personal qualities: "Good people" "Nice people" "People who are kind to others"	37	13	09	03
2. Law and order orientation: "People who wouldn't break the laws" "People who wouldn't rob or steal" "People who would follow the rules"	19	22	15	10
3. Community orientation, emphasis on social harmony, cooperation: "People who want the island to progress" "People who will support the government"	11	23	24	33
4. Status and economic orientation: "Wealthy people" "Professional people" "People who have good jobs"	12	12	11	12
5. Emphasis on meeting some sort of standard; strategies for selection: "They ought to decide just what sort of people they want and admit only those sorts of people"	07	05	29	21
6. Equalitarian and prima facie equalitarian: "They ought to admit everyone" "They ought to admit anyone as long as they go by the rules"	13	25	13	20
(N)	(96)	(95)	(94)	(89)

Ages: $X^2=85.41(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 68

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D21 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT PEOPLE SHOULD BE KEPT OFF THE ISLAND?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Unreflective; unelaborated personal qualities: "The bad people" "Nasty people" "People who cause trouble" "People who got kicked off another island"	42	18	11	13
2. Law and order orientation: "Bank robbers" "They wouldn't want criminals" "People with a criminal record"	36	36	32	23
3. Social misfits--lack of social consciousness and respectability: "Dope addicts, alcoholics, mentally ill" "People who don't respect other people and always want their own way" "Those who can't keep a job"	17	24	35	32
4. Protection of community, status quo: "The ones that will ruin the community" "The ones that would want some other form of government" "Someone who would try to destroy your beliefs"	02	09	13	19
5. No exclusion: "Shouldn't keep anyone out" "Can't tell what they're like until you get them in the society" "Shouldn't want to keep anyone out"	04	14	09	13
(N)	(93)	(102)	(108)	94)

Ages: $X^2=68.49(12)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 69

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D22 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

SHOULD THE NEW SETTLERS BE THE SAME AS OR DIFFERENT FROM THE OLD ONES?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Unreflective: S. says settlers should be same or different without offering any rationale.	29	08	08	12
2. Same, maintenance of order: "I think it would be confusing to have everyone speaking different languages" "They should all be the same because otherwise they'd fight"	21	15	14	12
3. Same, notions of segregation, separatism: "You ought to have different kinds of people but all living in different parts of the island" "You don't want all sorts of people mixing together"	02	03	02	02
4. Different, Notions of cross-fertilization, internationalism: "They should be different so people will learn different languages" "Different because they'd learn about people in different countries"	46	66	69	57
5. Different--idealistic or civil libertarian rationale: "They should have everyone living together" "They shouldn't keep anyone out; people should be free to live where they want"	01	05	06	10
6. Conditional or ambivalent: "It all depends" "In some ways it would be good to have different kinds and in some ways it wouldn't"	02	04	02	08
(N)	(111)	(103)	(118)	(104)

Ages: $X^2=46.64(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 70

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D22 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

SHOULD NEW SETTLERS BE THE SAME OR DIFFERENT:

FURTHER BREAKDOWN OF "SAME" RESPONSES

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Unreflective:	11	06	00	18
2. Same, notion of order:	81	76	35	29
3. Same, Preservation of harmony, avoidance of conflict:	04	06	55	53
4. Same, Separatist:	04	12	05	00
5. Same, Segregationist:	00	00	05	00
(N)	(27)	(17)	(19)	(17)

Ages: $X^2=35.19(12)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 71

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D22 BY AGE(IN PERCENTAGES)

SHOULD NEW SETTLERS BE THE SAME OR DIFFERENT:

FUTHER BREAKDOWN OF "DIFFERENT" RESPONSES

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Unreflective:	36	12	14	13
2. Different, cross-fertilization:	42	35	36	09
3. Different, progress or internationalism:	21	43	41	63
4. Different, avoidance of segregation, freedom of choice:	01	10	09	15
(N)	(77)	(82)	(88)	(78)

Ages: $X^2=59.11(9)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 72

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D22 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

SHOULD NEW SETTLERS BE THE SAME OR DIFFERENT FROM THE ORIGINALS?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Same:	23	13	14	15
2. Different:	74	81	83	72
3. Conditional or ambivalent:	03	06	04	12
(N)	(112)	(106)	(109)	(105)

Ages: $X^2=15.59(6)$, $p < .02$

TABLE 73

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 62 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT SORT OF PEOPLE BECAME RESPECTED IN THE COMMUNITY?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic, confused, primitive status: "Nice people, good people, kind people, rich people" or "People who had good jobs" (and leave it at that)	55	46	20	08
2. Law and order orientation: (emphasis on playing by the rules) "People who went by the rules" "People who believed in right"	08	08	10	02
3. Glamour, visibility, high S.E.S. status: "Movie stars, actresses" "People who had a lot of money" "Doctors, lawyers" "Political figures-i.e. "Mayor, President, sheriff"	23	19	36	42
4. Emphasis on interpersonal trust, humanitarian ideals, popularity: "People you could really depend on who would help others out" People who really care about others"	05	17	13	08
5. Competence, leadership, individuality: "The really qualified people who knew how to make things go" "Natural leaders" "People who believe what they said and carried it out"	05	07	17	26
6. Community orientation: "People who cared about the majority and really wanted to help the little man" "People who wanted to improve the island" "People who kept the community going"	03	04	05	13
(N)	(112)	(219)	(215)	(106)

Ages: $X^2=109.97(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 74

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 62A BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT KIND OF JOBS DO PEOPLE OF THIS SORT USUALLY HAVE?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Confused, grab-bag, or vague: "They'd be working in the factories and a farmer or they'd be going out to kill animals"	52	24	11	01
2. Conventional occupations, either white or blue collar: "Policemen, firemen, office workers, work in a store, serving people, office jobs"	16	17	12	09
3. Reference to status but unspecific or more than one status category: "They have the better jobs in society" "Jobs that allow them to make more money than other people"	21	31	30	27
4. Prestige jobs, emphasis on education. "Teachers, doctors, lawyers, dentists, engineers"	05	13	17	14
5. Emphasis on political position: "Civil rights leaders, the President, people on the Council, representatives, the Mayor, etc."	04	04	13	13
6. Emphasis on economic role: "Executives, businessmen, bankers, people who own their own companies" "Manager of a big company" "People who make a lot of money"	03	12	18	35
(N)	(114)	(109)	(176)	(99)

Ages: $X^2=132.51(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 75

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 62B BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT KINDS OF PERSONALITIES DO THESE PEOPLE USUALLY HAVE?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic--basically one-word or vague descriptions: "Nice, smart, like to help, good person, etc. etc."	70	43	25	13
2. Emphasis on negative qualities: (Lower level elitism) "Selfish, greedy, snotty, think they're real great, etc."	09	10	07	05
3. Higher level elitism: "They might be really rich and snobby and look down on people who don't have very much"	03	12	18	16
4. Ambivalent or conditional or non-committal: "Some are really nice to others, but there are those who look down on people" "All kinds of people"	12	15	24	18
5. Deceit, two facedness: "They might be nice in public but nasty to you in private" "They can come on friendly but if they don't get their own way they can be pretty mean"	01	03	06	05
6. Charisma: "They get along well with everyone" "They are really open minded and will listen to different points of view" "They really listen to others"	05	18	20	42
(N)	(99)	(101)	(107)	(99)

Ages: $X^2=102.99(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 76

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D22a BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WILL IT EVER BE POSSIBLE TO ELIMINATE RACIAL PREJUDICE? YES VS. NO RESPONSES

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Any "Yes" answer.	.55	.20	.15	.24
2. Any "No" answer.	.45	.80	.85	.76

$X^2 = 23.993(3)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 77

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D22a BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WILL IT EVER BE POSSIBLE TO ELIMINATE RACIAL PREJUDICE? NO ANSWERS

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. S. doesn't know what the word prejudice means.	61	16	01	00
2. NO- unelaborated.	13	10	05	05
3. No; just the way it is; or it's always been that way. (only general, impersonal reason given; the S. does not answer in terms of reasons given below)	05	27	04	08
4. No; human nature: emphasis on human propensities, e.g. some people feel superior to others; people have their own opinions, etc.	21	40	71	55
5. No; social experience: emphasis given to the learning of prejudice, either at home or through peers.	00	07	12	21
6. No; social structure; emphasis on sociological determinants e.g. people in different groups always dislike each other.	00	00	08	11
(N)	(76)	(81)	(85)	(73)

Ages: $X^2=182,87(\ 15),\ p < .001$

And once more in this section of the interview as with several others, the growth of a more differentiated view of society is accompanied by a certain pessimism, verging at times on cynicism. The older subjects are strikingly more perceptive than the younger respondents about who the "big wheels" in any community are. They are not simply "nice people" or "good people." They are the individuals with visibility--movie stars, professionals, politicians, bankers (Table 73, p. 111) --individuals who hold high status occupations rather than routine ones (Table 74, p. 112). But we detect, among some of our older subjects at least, what appears to be a kind of ambivalence about these leading citizens. While a substantial percentage of the older adolescents describe them as having charisma or being "open-minded," a lesser though still considerable proportion declare that they "look down on others" or that "they can be nice to you in public but nasty to you in private." (Table 75, p. 113).

Though not the most prominent trend on this particular question, it is certainly an intriguing one--and one which fits in well with the results we obtained on the last item in the series on "class distinctions and discrimination." If a considerable percentage of our tenth and twelfth graders believe that there are character flaws which accompany success, an even larger proportion indict the entire human race when it comes to racial prejudice. Relatively few older subjects express the view that it would be possible to eliminate such discrimination entirely (Table 76, p. 114), the majority of them arguing instead that it is simply "human nature" or an inevitable consequence of social training which causes some people to look down on others (Table 77, p. 115). We should make clear at this point that the younger subjects were not necessarily more sanguine than the older ones. Rather, they appeared to be a good deal less informed--fully 60 percent of the sixth graders stated that they did not know what the word "prejudice" meant.[6]

Questions on the Political Process and Dissent

This air of disaffection persists on some of the items in our very last set of developmental results. This final section of the interview dealt with one of the most salient issues of the day; the problem of making government sufficiently responsive to all the disparate groups in society. We employed the following set of items to explore this issue:

---

[6] In most cases, the interviewer attempted to explain what it meant, but usually to no avail. In order to point up the very high percentage of DK responses among the younger Ss, we have included them in our computations for Table 77, p. 115.

D23. Here's another problem that arose. Some of the people on the island felt that only the well-off and important people were listened to by the Council. They believed that the Council did not pay much attention to the ideas of the average person. Do you think this is true in our society?

D24. (If "yes" or "maybe") What do you think can be done about it?

D25. If a group of people wanted to influence the Mayor or the City Council in Detroit(Ypsilanti), what would be the best way to do it?

D26. Do you think they would be successful?

D27. To return to the island: there were a small number of people on one part of the island--about 10%--who felt that they had no say in the government. They were too small a group to elect a Councilman, and they felt that there was no one who cared about the problems on their part of the island. What could they do about it?

D28. Some of the people became impatient and decided that the only way they could get attention was to go down to the City Hall and sit-in until their demands were met. What do you think about that?

D29. Suppose they did stage a sit in: What do you think the government should do?

As is evident in Tables 78 and 79, pp. 118-119, with increasing age there is a marked increase in the number of subjects who agree with the statement that only the important and influential people are listened to in society. Furthermore, when asked what can be done to remedy this state of affairs, a substantial percentage of the twelfth graders express the view that there is no effective solution (Table 79, p. 119). And perhaps becuase they are somewhat more disenchanted with the political system than the younger respondents, the older subjects are slightly more likely to endorse the more visible forms of protest(Tables 80, 81, and 83, pp. 120, 121, and 123).

Nonetheless, we can conclude this detailed review of the development results on a rather hopeful note. Even among the subjects who believe that only the more prominent citizens influence government, there are those who claim that the disenfranchised have only themselves to blame(Table 79, p. 119). "It's really their own fault," one twelfth grader remarked, "people just sit back and don't say anything." Furthermore, although a sizable proportion of the very oldest respondents express pessimism about giving the "lesser people" a voice in government, an even more sizable proportion come up with constructive suggestions(Table 80, p. 120). What is most encouraging is that these suggestions display, once again, a markedly increased comprehension of the political system between the sixth and twelfth grades. Typically the very youngest subjects are at a loss when asked to provide strategies for communicating the concerns of dissident groups. The very oldest subjects readily mention such alternatives as petition drives, letters to representatives, meetings with officials, and so forth(Tables 81, and 83, pp. 121 & 123). A substantial majority of the respondents at all grade levels believe that such tactics would be successful(Table 82,p.122), one of the few items in this study which does not yield any significant age differences (but a revealing item, nonetheless). Consequently, although out and out disapproval of expedients like "sitting in" declines between the sixth and twelfth grades the older subjects generally justify such measures

TABLE 78

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D23 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

DO YOU THINK THAT ONLY THE IMPORTANT PEOPLE

ARE LISTENED TO IN OUR SOCIETY?

("YES" AND "NO" ANSWERS)

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Any "yes" Answer:	49	59	81	73
2. Any "no" Answer:	51	41	19	27
(N)	(106)	(104)	(110)	(101)

Ages: $X^2=29.12(3)$, $p<.001$

TABLE 79

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D23 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

DO YOU THINK THAT ONLY THE IMPORTANT PEOPLE

ARE LISTENED TO IN OUR SOCIETY?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simple yes, no further elaboration:	31	21	05	00
2. Simple no, no further elaboration:	29	20	06	07
3. Naive idealism or moralism: "No, everyone has the same chance" "That's not right; they should listen to everyone"	27	23	14	20
4. Status oriented, notion that only people with money, prestige, pull, are listened to: "They only listen to the people who contribute to campaigns"	12	21	41	24
5. Cynicism, conveys the notion of the poor being disenfranchised: "The government promises us things but it never comes true" "Poor people try to speak up but nobody listens"	00	06	22	25
6. Voter-oriented, electoral strategies for change: "It's really their own fault. People just sit back and don't say anything" "The average people ought to organize and try to make themselves heard"	02	09	11	24
(N)	(49)	(80)	(63)	(59)

Ages: $X^2=80.33(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 80

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D24 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT AN UNRESPONSIVE COUNCIL?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic: "Talk to them" "Make the government listen" "Talk to them real nice"	52	17	03	02
2. Use of media: "Go on T.V." "Have a big advertising campaign" "Advertise in the newspapers"	03	04	02	02
3. Elective or systemic solution: "They could try to talk to their representatives" "They ought to elect a spokesman and have him go to the Council"	17	38	57	50
4. Disaffection, pessimism: "I don't think there's anything they could do" "They could try to talk to their representatives but I don't think it would work"	17	15	22	35
5. Moralistic, side-stepping of issue: "Well, the government really ought to listen to them" "That's not fair" "The Council ought to listen"	10	23	13	08
6. Protest: Non-violent and violent: "They ought to have a protest" "They ought to have a demonstration" "They ought to strike"	00	02	03	02
(N)	(29)	(47)	(63)	(48)

Ages: $X^2=59.29(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 81

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D25 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

IF A GROUP OF PEOPLE WANTED TO INFLUENCE THE MAYOR OR THE CITY OF DETROIT, WHAT WOULD BE THE BEST WAY TO DO IT?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic: "Speak loud" "They should do what they can" "Just make him understand" "Probably scare him and tell him they were going to hang him or shoot him"	39	28	02	02
2. Lower level means of communication: "Try to get together and call a meeting to talk the problem over" "Try to discuss the matter with him" "Just go up and make an appointment"	38	39	38	28
3. References to money, bribery, "Buttering up": "Invite him over for dinner" "Donate large sums of money" "Get on the good side of him and bribe him"	14	14	15	12
4. Picketing, protest, violence: "Just riot, that'll work" "Go down there and protest" "Picket his office"	02	08	15	10
5. Petitions, peaceful demonstrations: "Maybe they could get a lot of people to sign a petition so the mayor would know that's what the people wanted" "Start a peaceful movement on a large scale and show that it's a general feeling"	05	09	22	30
6. Higher level means of communication: "Have your representative take a petition to the Council" "I think by writing letters to their representatives and telling what and how they feel"	02	03	07	18
(N)	(85)	(93)	(99)	(90)

Ages: $X^2=135.23(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 82

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D26 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

DO YOU THINK A DISSATISFIED GROUP WOULD BE SUCCESSFUL?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Yes:	68	62	66	64
2. No:	11	18	17	11
3. Conditional:	19	20	17	24
(N)	(88)	(94)	(100)	(96)

Ages: $X^2=4.09(6)$, p = NS

TABLE 83

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D27 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT COULD THEY DO ABOUT THE 10% OF THE PEOPLE

WHO FELT THEY HAD NO SAY IN THE GOVERNMENT?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic: "They could ask nicely" "They could talk to the government"	50	28	11	05
2. Denial of issue, moralistic: "They should hold an election" "The government ought to listen to them"	17	18	20	26
3. Separatist: "They should break away and form their own government" "They should move to another part of the island"	14	18	15	05
4. Pessimism, dissatisfaction: "There isn't anything they could do" "Nothing would help"	07	05	04	04
5. Systemic: "They should write their representatives" "They ought to elect a spokesman and send him to the Council" "They ought to petition"	11	28	43	48
6. Protest and violence: "They ought to threaten to make trouble for the gov't if it doesn't do what they want" "They ought to threaten to riot"	09	03	08	12
(N)	(103)	(110)	(112)	(100)

Ages: $X^2=106.57(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 84

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D28 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHETHER OR NOT A SIT-IN SHOULD BE STAGED?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic, confused, blanket approval: "They ought to be sitting in chairs" "I think that's right, I think they should"	47	33	14	08
2. Emphasis on negative consequences, blanket disapproval: "They might get thrown into jail for doing that" "I don't think it's fair for them to do that"	44	39	28	21
3. Suggestion of substitute means: "They should elect a representative and send him down" "They should write a letter instead"	06	17	14	20
4. Effective last resort: (Sit-ins at least make a point that other forms of political pressure cannot) "Well if that's the only way they could be heard, I think they ought to do it"	01	10	25	27
5. Conditional responses; emphasis on peaceful demonstrations: "As long as they are not trespassing or interferring with anyone else, it's O.K." "If there's no violence"	01	01	13	15
6. Emphasis on individual rights: "Well, if it's the only way they could be heard, they have a right to protest" "They have a right to be heard" "That's freedom of speech"	02	01	06	08
(N)	(103)	(101)	(111)	(99)

Ages: $X^2=118.38(15)$, $p < .001$

TABLE 85

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D29 BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT DO IN THE CASE OF A SIT-IN?

	Grade			
	6	8	10	12
1. Simplistic, confused: "Try to get them to stop" "They should vote on it" "The government should help the 10%"	62	51	38	23
2. Punitive: "Put them in jail" "Tell them to get out" "Have the police break it up"	20	21	08	05
3. Organizational solutions: "They should appoint a representative from the group to tell the government what they want" "Listen to them and see what happens"	09	17	35	42
4. Suggestions to ignore group or pessimism about their having any effect: "They should just let them sit there, they'll get tired pretty soon" "The gov't should listen but they wouldn't"	09	05	07	10
5. Conditional, veiled reference to public welfare: "It's alright for them to protest as long as it's non-violent" "As long as they don't infringe the rights of others, it's alright to sit there"	00	02	07	10
6. Emphasis on individual rights: "They should have something to say about how the town is run and the laws that are made"	01	04	05	10
(N)	(104)	(105)	(114)	(105)

Ages: $X^2=91.61(15)$, $p < .001$

only in extremis. If other alternatives do not work and if the demostration is peaceful, then a sit-in might be the appropriate last resort (Tables 84 and 85, pp. 124-125). Perhaps because of their emphasis on maintaining a nonviolent sort of protest, the older subjects are also inclined to state that the government ought to respond positively--e.g., by appointing a representative to examine the dissident group's demands. However, we think it especially significant that in a culture supposedly so violence-prone, that so few adolescents advocated violence even indirectly.

Steps in the Growth of Political Thinking

In reviewing developmental results, we have for the most part limited ourselves to comparisons of the very youngest and the very oldest subjects. This sort of contrast, of course, most clearly delineates whatever age differences there are. However, we should also point out that political thinking changes between the sixth and twelfth grades in an orderly and rather gradual fashion. The eighth and tenth graders represent various intermediate stages, and there are generally no abrupt shifts in conceptualization between one grade and the next. Almost any item on the Desert Island Questionnaire could be used as an example, but for one of the best illustrations let us turn once more to Question 8a, What is the Purpose of Government (Table 12, p. 31)? The vast majority of sixth graders are concentrated in categories 1 and 2, that is to say, they are either confused by the question altogether or they emphasize the restrictive aspects of government. The eighth graders also respond with a good many "1's" and "2's", but roughly a third of them are capable of some sort of higher level answer. The notion that the state may mediate interpersonal conflicts, prevent confusion, and keep the peace begins to appear. Indeed, a sprinkling of eighth graders express some even more advanced views about the purpose of government. By tenth grade a shift into categories 3, 4, and 5 has occurred. Only 40 percent of the tenth graders give "simplistic" or "restrictive" answers, while 58 percent of them describe government as the regulation of interpersonal conflict, as an agency which sets standards of conduct, or as the common representative of the people. By twelfth grade, the shift into these more advance categories is even more marked: 73 percent of the oldest subjects conceptualize government in such terms, 18 percent of them giving what we consider the most highly formal response.

This single item exemplifies the pattern that the growth of political thinking seems to take on, and in general we may identify three different levels of ideation:

1. Level 1: The confused, simplistic, punitive, or concretely pragmatic response. This level usually accounts for the majority of sixth graders, and often a lesser though still very considerable proportion of eighth graders.

2. Level 2: Transitional responses: Answers which express the rudiments of a political concept but remain somewhat fragmentary or personalized. Few of the sixth graders, some of the eighth graders, and a substantial percentage of tenth graders achieve this level on any given item.

3. Level 3: Conceptual responses: Answers which are phrased in terms of some sort of political principle or ideal. Very few of the sixth graders, a handful of eighth graders, some tenth graders and a considerable proportion of twelfth graders usually achieve this level on any given item.

Indeed, we made a rough attempt to quantify our impressions and came up with a very interesting set of figures. The vast majority of codes we had formulated for the Desert Island Questionnaire could actually be collapsed into three levels we have described. When we added up the percentage of 6th, 8th, 10th, and 12th graders at each of these levels for each of the collapsed items and divided by the total number of items, we obtained the following results:

TABLE 86

LEVEL OF RESPONSE BY AGE (IN PERCENTAGES)

	LEVEL 1	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 3
6th	59	23	11
8th	43	31	20
10th	31	33	32
12th	19	29	41

Of course, this "average percentage" is only a rather crude index of the developmental differences. But it does show that the younger subjects disproportionately give lower level responses and that the older subjects are concentrated in the "transitional" and "higher" levels.

It is important to remember that we observed this sort of patterning in a group of average elementary, junior high, and high school students. (We had purposely excluded brighter subjects from the sample on the basis of our previous research, see p.11 of the present report.) Also noteworthy is the extent to which our data on political development resemble those of Kohlberg on moral development. We will enlarge on both of these points in the Discussion Section.

Summary of Developmental Results

In concluding our review of the developmental results, we would like to offer the following summary of our major findings:

1. Some researchers (Easton and Hess, 1962; Langton and Jennings, 1968) have suggested that political socialization is more-or-less complete by the end of eighth grade. By this time, they argue, the child has acquired his basic allegiances and values and subsequent experiences are not likely to alter them. Our own research does not substantiate this view. On the contrary, perhaps the most important finding of this entire study is that political thinking undergoes marked changes between the sixth and twelfth grade.

2. American adolescents appear to acquire a comparatively solid grasp of political concepts as they mature. Principles such as "representation" and "election" which are nearly meaningless to the average sixth grader are generally well within the comprehension of the average twelfth grader. Furthermore, the twelfth grader has on the whole a much better understanding of the way in which the political system actually functions than the sixth grader. To a markedly greater extent than the sixth grader, the twelfth grader can state the purpose of various governmental agencies, advance solutions to social problems, and suggest ways of redressing political grievances.

3. In conjunction with his increased comprehension of the way in which the political system functions, the adolescent also develops more democratic and humanitarian views as he matures. His concept of government changes from restrictive to facilitative. His stance toward crime becomes less punitive and oriented more toward rehabilitation. Increasingly, he favors having the public sector provide health care and subsistence for the needy, and he is less inclined to attribute poverty or lack of social status to personal failings.

4. Essentially, what seems to develop during adolescence is the perception that government is a kind of social contract, that rather than being an authoritarian and monolithic force, it is a body of citizens and operates according to certain rules. This body or community is perceived as having certain collective rights which are subsumed under concepts like "public welfare" and "national security". But the individual citizen is seen as being guaranteed certain reciprocal rights as well, e.g., "privacy," "freedom of speech," and so forth.

5. However, the growth of such political ideals appears to be accompanied to some degree by increased pessimism and cynicism. As he comes to view government more and more as a kind of social contract, the teenager also probably becomes more and more aware of the social hierarchy or "pecking order." For some this increased awareness seems to result in disaffection. Though by no means a majority, a considerable proportion of the older adolescents in our sample apparently believe that only the "rich and important" people carry any political clout, that successful individuals achieve their status by being "pushy and deceitful," and that political parties are "all one big publicity campaign." More generally, the older adolescent's increasingly differentiated view of society seems to engender a certain fatalism about the possibility of progress. In contrast to the younger subjects in our study, a majority of our older subjects doubt that it would ever be possible to eradicate crime, poverty, and prejudice.

6. Nor is the development of political thinking completely uniform. Though twelfth graders on the whole display a solid grasp of many political principles and can respond intelligently to a variety of political issues, there are still areas of confusion. The subject of partisan politics was the most notable example in the present study.

7. However, contrary to what might have been expected, the older subjects in our sample were not perceptibly more hostile toward the police than the younger subjects, nor were they less likely than the younger subjects to believe that dissident groups would be able to achieve a fair hearing. The older subjects were also far more capable of articulating constructive strategies for influencing the political process. This perhaps explains their general reluctance to endorse any form of violence. All in all, then, a rather positive view of the political scene predominates during adolescence.

Chapter V

A CONSIDERATION OF OTHER VARIABLES: SEX, AREA AND RACE

Because the age differences in this study were by far the most impressive, we will give a relatively brief account of our results by sex, area, and race. (Since there were virtually no social class differences, these can probably be omitted from consideration altogether.)

Sex Differences

Out of a total of 114 chi square comparisons, there were 21 significant male-female differences. However, a single, and not unexpected trend stands out. On most of the items which yield a significant difference, the girls tend to give a slightly higher proportion of "simplistic" or "punitive" responses than the boys. (Indeed, on almost all the questions, of the Desert Island Questionnaire, there were slightly more girls than boys in the "simplistic" or "unreflective" category. In most cases, however, the trend was not sufficiently large to be statistically significant.) One of the more pronounced examples of this general tendency occurs in response to Question D8: Why did there have to be special rules for the police? (See Table 87, p. 131). More than twice as many girls answer this question in a simplistic or confused fashion. Nonetheless, it is probably unwise to draw any but the most tentative conclusions from such a result, for we must emphasize once again that on the vast majority of interview items there are no significant sex differences. Though girls may be a bit less sophisticated about politics than boys overall, sex appears to be a comparatively minor variable in determining the development of political thinking. In fact, when we calculate the "average percentage" of males and females at levels 1, 2, and 3 in our large sample of collapsed codes, we find that the differences are very modest. There is only a slightly higher concentration of female subjects at the lowest level.

TABLE 88

LEVEL OF RESPONSE BY SEX
(IN PERCENTAGES)

	LEVEL 1	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 3
Male	35	30	29
Female	39	29	26

TABLE 87

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 18 BY SEX (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHY THERE HAD TO BE RULES FOR HOW THE POLICEMEN SHOULD BEHAVE?

	SEX	
	Male	Female
1. Simplistic, confused: "Cause the police might say something wrong and the person they was talking to didn't like it and they probably get into a fight"	13	26
2. Victimization of citizens: "They'd see someone getting beat up and they'd just go by and not do nothing" "They'd arrest people for nothing"	21	27
3. Police brutality; prejudice; "They might beat people up" "They might be hard on black people"	30	23
4. Corruption: "They might break the law themselves, but pick someone up for doing the same thing"	10	07
5. Appeal to a higher standard of behavior: "If the police didn't obey the law, no one would" "The police should set a good example"	16	09
6. Appeal to higher political principles: "It's an important part of a larger machine" "They should respect the rights of citizens"	10	08
(N)	(201)	(225)

Sex: $X^2=18.00(5)$, $p < .01$

TABLE 89

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D5 BY AREA(IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE WANTED TO BECOME POLICEMEN?

	Area	
	Det.	Ypsi.
1. Emphasis on positive personal qualities or lower-level law and order, patriotism: "People who know the law and believe in their country" (S. uses law and country as mere labels)	35	42
2. Emphasis on negative qualities or self-interest: "Mean people" "People who want money" "White people who are prejudice"	10	10
3. Special qualifications: "People who have a college education" "People who know how to handle criminals" "Intelligent people"	12	08
4. Ambivalence expressed: "Some just need money but there are some who are honest" "Some are bad, some are good" "All kinds of people become policemen"	11	03
5. Higher level law and order; patriotism: "People who have a strong sense of duty" "People who wanted to protect the community" "Law abiding people who wanted others to follow the laws"	24	27
6. Humanitarian-idealistic: "They really wanted to help people and were willing to sacrifice their lives to protect other human beings" "They believed in justice and individual rights under the law"	10	10
(N)	(219)	(201)

Area: $X^2=12.05(5)$. $p < .05$

TABLE 90

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D6 BY AREA
(IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE WANT TO BECOME POLICEMEN IN OUR SOCIETY?

	Area	
	Detroit	Ypsilanti
1. Emphasis on positive personal qualities or lower level law and order, patriotism: "Smart people" "Brave men that are trustful and everything.	24	27
2. Emphasis on negative qualities or self-interest: "People who try to show off," "People who want to make money."	10	05
3. Special qualifications: "Well before you become one you probably have to have a test."	18	22
4. Ambivalence expressed: "Well a good deal of them wanted to keep our places safe, but then a lot of them just want to do it for the badge."	17	18
5. Higher level law and order; patriotism: "The ones that are willing to help keep the city in order."	21	23
6. Humanitarian-idealistic: "The kind of people who are interested in people and want to see our land live."	09	07
(N)	(207)	(199)

Area: $X^2=5.56(5)$, p=NS

Area Differences

The area differences are more problemmatic. Since we did not expect adolescents in Ypsilanti to differ appreciably from adolescents in Detroit, we were somewhat surprised to uncover 33 significant area chi square comparisons in a total of 114. Far more perplexing, however, is the absence of any particular pattern to the results. These significant area differences were for the most part scattered throughout the interview (an exception being Question 69 which is not discussed in the present report due to its complexity but produced 5 significant area chi squares. These results will be summarized in a subsequent report. In a few instances, the response looked at first glance entirely reasonable. Question D5, What kinds of people on the island wanted to become policemen, is a good example (See Table 89, p. 132). As is evident, the suburban sujects had a slightly more positive view of these hypothetical law enforcement personnel than did the metropolitan subjects. However, on the succeeding question--what kinds of people in our society want to become policemen--this difference completely disappeared, (See Table 90, p. 133) a rather baffling set of results.

Most of the remaining significant area differences appear to be equally random. In some cases, the Ypsilanti sample gave the more sophisticated response, in some cases, the Detroit sample. Indeed, when we compare the "average percentage" of Ypsilanti and Detroit respondents at levels 1, 2 and 3, we obtain the following set of figures:

TABLE 91

LEVEL OF RESPONSE BY AREA
(IN PERCENTAGES)

	LEVEL 1	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 3
Detroit	36	31	27
Ypsilanti	38	29	27

Similarly, on some questions the Ypsilanti sample was more concerned about the rights of individuals, on other questions, the Detroit sample was. All in all, area, like sex seems to be a comparatively minor variable in determining the development of political thinking, but it will probably take further study and analysis to account for all the inconsistencies we observed with respect to the suburban-metropolitan differences.

TABLE 92

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 36 BY RACE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT ARE THE ADVANTAGES OF HAVING POLITICAL PARTIES?

	Race	
	Black	White
1. Misinterpretation, simplistic approval "They're to have fun" "To meet people" "They're good" "They help you"	34	12
2. Confusion with government "They help people with their problems" "They tell you what to do" "To keep people from doing bad things" "It's to avoid fights"	14	20
3. Convenience and utility "They make it easier" "They pick the right man to run" "So not just anyone can run" "They run the election"	07	13
4. Advertising and influence; party loyalty "They help get candidates elected" "They inform voters" "If you're in a party you know who to vote for"	14	23
5. Equal representation "They represent what you think" "So two aides of an argument are represented in the government" "You can say what you want and get what you want"	13	12
6. Provides choice, competition "You have a chance to choose what you want" "It makes it easier to change governments" "The majority gets to choose" "If you didn't have two parties it would be like a dictatorship"	17	20
(N)	(127)	(182)

Race: $X^2=24.55(5)$, $p < .001$

Racial Differences

The racial differences present a far more coherent picture than the area differences. Out of 114 chi square comparisons, 33 are significant. On roughly a third of these, (i.e., eleven questions) the blacks offered a slightly greater proportion of "simplistic" or "confused" responses. Interestingly enough, these were concentrated in a single section of the interview: the questions on political parties. On five of the questions devoted to this subject, the blacks gave somewhat more evidence of confusion than whites, Question 36 being the most marked example (see Table 92, p. 135). However, it would be hazardous to conclude that blacks are necessarily less sophisticated politically than whites--either in this specific area or generally. It is important to recall that the questions on political parties were apparently among the most difficult in the interview. As we noted in our review of the developmental results, most subjects--male, female, younger, older--had trouble with them. Furthermore, with regard to the whole issue of confused and simplistic responses, girls as a group about demonstrate about as much evidence of political naivete as do blacks. And finally, on the vast majority of items, there are no black-white differences at all. To provide some additional documentation for these last two assertions, we computed the "average percentage" of blacks and whites at levels 1, 2, and 3 for all the interview items which could be collapsed in this fashion.

TABLE 93

LEVEL OF RESPONSE BY RACE
(IN PERCENTAGES)

	LEVEL 1	LEVEL 2	LEVEL 3
Black	39	29	25
White	34	28	29

As can be seen, there are more blacks than whites at level 1, but the difference is very slight and about the same magnitude as that observed in our comparison of males and females.

What of the remaining racial differences? Although limitations of time and space prevent an exhaustive review here are some of the more interesting ones. As might be expected, blacks demonstrate a slightly less positive view of the police than whites when asked what sort of

people want to become policemen on the island (See Table 94, p. 138). However, this difference all but washed out on the succeeding question, what sorts of people become policemen in our society. (See Table 95, p. 139).

If anything, the white subjects seemed to have a more uneasy and cynical view of the political scene. They were more likely to advocate bribery as a means of influencing public officials (See Table 96, p. 140). They were also more likely to mention the possibility of violence if a dissident group sat in at city hall, (See Table 97, p. 141). And in one of the most surprising results of the entire study, they were less likely to believe that any group of people who wished to could influence the mayor of their particular city. (See Table 98, p. 142). In other words, the blacks were actually more sanguine about having some impact on the political process.

But, once again, what is probably most noteworthy is the comparative lack of differences between blacks and whites. It is often assumed that the two races are socialized differently, that they are in effect two separate cultures. Our own study would seem to indicate that as far as the growth of political thinking is concerned the impact of such differential socialization is relatively minor. The evolution of political ideation, if not identical, is markedly similar among the blacks and whites in our research population.

TABLE 94

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D5 BY RACE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE WANTED TO BECOME POLICEMEN?

	Race	
	Black	White
1. Emphasis on positive personal qualities OR lower-level law and order, patriotism: "People who know the law and believe in their country" (S. uses law and country as mere labels)	40	37
2. Emphasis on negative qualities or self-interest: "Mean people" "People who want money" "White people who are prejudice"	12	08
3. Special qualifications: "People who have a college education" "People who know how to handle criminals" "Intelligent people"	10	10
4. Ambivalence expressed: "Some just need money but there are some who are honest" "Some are bad, some are good" "All kinds of people become policemen"	10	04
5. Higher level law and order; Patriotism: "People who have a strong sense of duty" "People who wanted to protect the community" "Law abiding people who wanted others to follow the laws"	19	31
6. Humanitarian-idealistic: "They really wanted to help people and were willing to sacrifice their lives to protect other human beings" "They believed in justice and individual rights under the law"	10	10
(N)	(199)	(221)

Race: $X^2=13.52(5)$, $p < .02$

TABLE 95

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D6 BY RACE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE WANT TO BECOME POLICEMEN IN OUR SOCIETY?

	Race	
	Black	White
1. Emphasis on positive personal qualities or lower level law and order, patriotism: "Smart people" "Brave men that are trustful and everything."	26	25
2. Emphasis on negative qualities or self-interest: "People who try to show off," "People who want to make money."	11	04
3. Special qualifications: "Well before you become one you probably have to have a test."	22	19
4. Ambivalence expressed: "Well a good deal of them wanted to keep our places safe, but then al lot of them just want to do it for the badge."	16	19
5. Higher level law and order; patriotism: "The ones that are willing to help keep the city in order."	20	24
6. Humanitarian-idealistic: "The kind of people who are interested in people and want to see our land live."	05	10
(N)	(190)	(216)

Race: $X^2=10.97(5)$, $p<.10$

TABLE 96

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D25 BY RACE (IN PERCENTAGES)

IF A GROUP OF PEOPLE WANTED TO INFLUENCE THE MAYOR OR

THE CITY OF DETROIT, WHAT WOULD BE THE BEST WAY TO DO IT?

	Race	
	Black	White
1. Simplistic: "Speak loud" "They should do what they can" "Just make him understand" "Probably scare him and tell him they were going to hang him or shoot him"	18	16
2. Lower level means of communication: "Try to get together and call a meeting to talk the problem over" "Try to discuss the matter with him" "Just go up and make an appointment"	40	32
3. References to money, bribery, "Buttering up": "Invite him over for dinner" "Donate large sums of money" "Get on the good side of him and bribe him"	07	21
4. Picketing, protest, violence: "Just riot, that'll work" "Go down there and protest" "Picket his office"	11	07
5. Petitions, peaceful demonstrations: "Maybe they could get a lot of people to sign a petition so the mayor would know that's what the people wanted" "Start a peaceful movement on a large scale and show that it's a general feeling"	14	19
6. Higher level means of communication: "Have your representative take a petition to the Council" "I think by writing letters to their representatives and telling what and how they feel"	09	05
(N)	(180)	(186)

Race: $X^2 = 39.55(5)$. $p < .001$ 140

TABLE 97

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D29[2] BY RACE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WHAT SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT DO IN THE CASE OF A SIT-IN?

MENTION OF POSSIBILITY OF VIOLENCE

	Race	
	Black	White
1. Mention of possibility of violence: (rioting, arrests, disturbances, etc.)	16	27
2. No mention of violence:	84	73
(N)	(205)	(220)

Race: $X^2=8.51(1)$, $p<.01$

TABLE 98

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D26 BY RACE (IN PERCENTAGES)

DO YOU THINK A DISSATISFIED GROUP WOULD BE SUCCESSFUL?

	Race	
	Black	White
1. Yes	73	57
2. No	12	17
3. Conditional	15	25
(N)	(187)	(189)

Race: $X^2=10.18(2)$, $p < .01$

Chapter VI

DISCUSSION

Although we did not begin the present study with any specific hypotheses in mind, the results we have reported are well within our general expectations. In our previous work and that of our associates (Adelson and O'Neil, 1966; Adelson, Green, and O'Neil, 1969; Beall, 1967; Gallatin, 1967; Bush, 1970; Gallatin and Adelson, 1970; Gallatin and Adelson, 1971) the variable of age overshadowed those of sex, intelligence, social class, and nationality. In the present study age appears to be a more important factor in the development of political thinking than sex, social class, area of residence, or race. Indeed, the close correspondence between our previous research, based on data collected in 1963, and the present project, based on data collected in 1970 is one of our most significant findings. It should be remembered that in addition to being separated in time, the two research populations differed in a number of other respects. The 1963 sample contained 330 subjects in all from three different nations (America, Germany, and Great Britain), was predominately middle class. Two-thirds of the subjects were of average intelligence and one-third of superior intelligence. The 1970 sample was larger (489), and predominately lower class. All subjects were of average intelligence, and there were an equal number of blacks and whites.

The research instrument was also altered somewhat between 1963 and 1970, with roughly half the questions on the original Desert Island Questionnaire being deleted and replaced by new items. These new items were designed to be more contemporary and "topical" than the older ones. Nonetheless, despite all these variations and changes, the results are very similar. In both our previous work and in the present study the same pattern of political thinking emerges, and it emerges in response both to the original Desert Island Questionnaire items and the new items. Among the younger subjects the basic political concepts are largely absent, and there is relatively little awareness of the way in which political systems function. By contrast, the older subjects, particularly those in twelfth grade, exhibit a fair degree of sophistication about politics. Their perception of government is facilitative rather than restrictive. They are capable of justifying one policy on the basis of its benefit to the community as a whole and reject another because of its possible infringement on individual rights. They also comprehend the workings of the system to a much greater degree. Notions like representation, election, and political influence are all within the ken of the older subjects.

Furthermore, in both our earlier work and the present study the developmental results are the most prominent. In our previous research, the variable of age overshadowed those of sex, intelligence, social

class, and nationality. In the present study, with intelligence controlled, age appears to be a more important determinant of political thinking than sex, social class, area of residence, or race.

This is not to imply that everything we observed was completely in line with our expectations, nor that the items we added to the Desert Island Questionnaire were totally redundant. Indeed, we included these new items to see if the subjects would respond any differently to more topical issues than they had to the "classical" questions. We were somewhat surprised to find that they did not. Probably the most striking illustration is provided by the series of questions on the police. At the time we conducted our interviews, the subject of "police brutality" was very much in the news. It was not unreasonable to expect that the older subjects, who after all were much closer to the issue than the younger ones, would have a less positive opinion of the police. However, a substantial proportion of the older subjects (34% of the tenth graders and 57% of the twelfth graders) described the police in lofty and idealistic terms, and relatively few expressed any out and out negative sentiments (12% of the 10th graders and 7% of the 12th graders). (See Table 60, p. 95). It is certainly very significant that our older respondents employed such similar categories for describing the typical policeman in our society and say, explaining the purpose of government. But it was not totally expected.

The area differences we uncovered in the present project present us with a somewhat more perplexing problem. As indicated earlier, signigicant area differences were far less numerous than significant age differences, but we anticipated even fewer than we observed. To be sure, our earlier research had contained a substantial number of national differences, but it is one thing for subjects residing in different countries to respond differently to an interview and quite another for subjects living only forty miles apart in different communities. Even more puzzling is the lack of any particular pattern to these suburban-metropolitan variations. In our previous work, the national differences (the only even roughly comparable variable) were quite consistent. In this study, the differences between our suburban subjects and our metropolitan subjects seem almost random. We can surmise that area of residence has some relatively minor impact on the development of political thinking, but we cannot specify precisely what it is. Hopefully, further study and analysis will help to clarify these results.

The sex and racial differences--also both relatively modest--seem to be much more coherent. As noted, girls gave a slightly higher proportion of naive and simplistic answers than boys. This occurred on practically every item of the Desert Island Questionnaire, but there were comparatively few items where the disparity between males and females was actually significant. What can we conclude from these results?

It is not unlikely that they reflect the influence of sex-role typing. Women have traditionally taken less of an interest in politics than men and been less politically active. Surveys of adult voters (Campbell etal., 1960) have shown women to be somewhat (though not markedly) less sophisticated politically than men and more inclined to describe politics as a "man's preoccupation." Hess and Torney observed a similar trend in their research with grade school and junior high school children (1967). In their study, girls exhibited a slightly greater degree of political naivete at all age levels. Hence, although recent research indicates that such differences are breaking down (Lansing, 1972) girls may well still lag a bit behind boys in developing a grasp of political concepts. Even so, we should emphasize once more that sex appears to have a much less significant impact on thinking than does age.

The same seems to be true of race. There is, perhaps, some slight evidence that the black adolescents in our sample are not quite as knowledgeable about politics--or more specifically about political parties--as the white adolescents, but it is vitally important not to make too much of it. As we noted earlier, only about a third of the significant black-white comparisons appear to be due to differences in cognition. The bulk of them seem to reflect differences in attitudes instead, the whites expressing a little more apprehension about violence, the blacks expressing approval of welfare a bit more readily, and so forth.

But much more impressive than any differences between the blacks and whites in our study is the comparative lack of differences. In contrast to other studies which have found blacks achieving at a lower level generally than whites (Coleman, 1965) or less informed about politics (Langton and Jennings, 1968), ours would seem to indicate that political thinking matures at roughly the same rate among blacks and whites. Of course, we made some attempt to control for intelligence in the present study and hence, may have greatly reduced the possibility of observing any significant differences in political cognition. However, we doubt that this can explain the comparative absence of such variations altogether.

It has been argued that blacks feel for the most part alienated from the political system, that the mistrust of government which is alleged to develop in all American youngsters between childhood and late adolescence is accentuated in blacks (Marvick, 1969; Greenberg, 1969). If this were in fact the case, one might expect black youngsters to turn away from the political scene increasingly, to express more cynicism about politics than their white counterparts, and to show less attachment to the classical American ideals than whites. Indeed, one would expect to observe such differences even among equally intelligent blacks and whites.

TABLE 99

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 57a BY RACE (IN PERCENTAGES)

DO YOU THINK IT WOULD EVER BE POSSIBLE TO ELIMINATE CRIME ALTOGETHER FROM THE ISLAND?

	RACE	
	Black	White
1. Confusion or simplistic: "Yes, make a law" "Take a vote and see if they want to get rid of it"	.12	.09
2. Passive solution "Have the government give them an equal amount of money" "Give them a share of taxes" "Have the government help them"	.35	.22
3. Active solution (emphasis on self-help) "Teach them to do a job" "Send them to a technical school"	.20	.28
4. Cynicism regarding the poor "Some people are just lazy and won't work" "Some people are just intelligent and won't get good jobs" "Some people figure that why should they work when someone will pay their bills"	.07	.11
5. Cynicism regarding the establishment, fatalism "There will always be poor people, cuz there just aren't enough jobs'" "The powers that be really don't care, or they'd stop spending so much money just to go to the moon"	.27	.30
(N)	(164)	(171)

Race: $X^2=10.11(4)$, $p < .05$

TABLE 100

RESPONSES TO QUESTION 57 BY RACE (IN PERCENTAGES)

DO YOU THINK IT WOULD EVER BE POSSIBLE TO ELIMINATE CRIME ALTOGETHER FROM THE ISLAND?

	Race	
	Black	White
1. Simplistic: "The whole island would be nothing but bad people" "Maybe they couldn't catch the person who was doing it"	28	26
2. Punitive: "you'd have to brainwash the people" "Split the bad people up from the ones who don't commit crimes"	09	07
3. Group pressure/perseverance: "IF everyone followed the laws it would be possible" "If all the people would cooperate, it would"(also environment and upbringing)	11	12
4. Pessimism; simplistic (innate, negative personal traits): "Like they say, one bad apple can spoil the whole barrel" "There will always be troublemakers, no one is perfect"	31	34
5. Pessimism, elaborated and/or conditional: (more on a societal/ community level) "When you have racial groups there will always be crime."	16	18
6. Rehabilitation: "If people are given work and friendship it would be possible" "If there were enough jobs and opportunity for the people it would be possible"	04	04
(N)	(197)	(220)

Race: $X^2=1.35(5)$, p=NS

Our investigation, however, fails to support the hypothesis that black youngsters are more alienated than whites on two counts. We have already mentioned the comparative absence of differences in political cognition. Even more significant is the fact that when we look for evidence of increased political disaffection among black adolescents, we do not find it. As we have mentioned, the older subjects in our study exhibit considerably more cynicism and pessimism about the workings of society than the younger ones. However, this tendency is not accentuated among black youngsters (as we might expect it to be if they were more alienated.) As the following set of tables(99, 100, 101, pp. 146-147 and p. 148) indicates, they do not feel more pessimistic than whites about the possibility of eliminating poverty, crime and racial prejudice, and we have already cited their greater optimism that a dissident group could achieve a hearing (See Table 98, p. 142 in the previous section).

TABLE 101

RESPONSES TO QUESTION D22a BY RACE (IN PERCENTAGES)

WILL IT EVER BE POSSIBLE TO ELIMINATE RACIAL PREJUDICES?

	RACE	
	Black	White
1. Any "yes" answer	22	21
2. Any "no" answer	78	77
(N)	(162)	(173)

Race: $X^2 = .004(1)$, p=NS

When we first proposed the present study, we speculated that the recent emphasis on ethnic pride and Black Power might have begun to counteract feelings of political disaffection among Blacks(or alleged feelings of disaffection). While we must be cautious about drawing any definitive conclusions, it is possible that what we have observed reflects the impact of such political movements on black youngsters. We should also point out that pessimism and cynicism were not completely absent in the black sample. It was rather that the black youngsters as a group did not seem any more disenchanted with society than their white counterparts.

This leads us back once more to the overall pattern of political thinking we have uncovered in this study and in our previous work.

How are we to explain data which appear to indicate that age is the most important factor in the development of political ideation. For with only minor variations, the growth of political concepts appears to be remarkably similar among boys and girls, suburban adolescents and metropolitan adolescents, and, most surprisingly, blacks and whites.

Though it is very difficult to trace the workings of this sort of process directly, the most logical explanation is that we are observing the results of cognitive maturation. In their attempts to answer our questions about the political system, the older subjects consistently display a different set of categories and hence, a different type of reasoning than the younger subjects. The younger subjects are often confused by items, they express blanket approval or disapproval of various policies, and they tend to focus on the punitive or restrictive aspects of government. The older subjects are rarely confused, they justify or reject various policies in terms of actual political principles (e.g., "public welfare" or "individual rights"), and they tend to emphasize the more facilitative and humanitarian aspects of government. In short, what we see in the older subjects in the hypothetico-deductive mode of reasoning applied to the political scene.

Inhelder and Piaget (1958) have traced the development of this particular form of thought between childhood and adolescence, but they limit their inquiry to scientific problem-solving and give only a rather tantalizing aside to social thinking:

> The notions of humanity, social justice (in contrast to interindividual justice which is deeply experienced at the concrete level), freedom of conscience, civic or intellectual courage, and so forth, like the idea of nationality, are ideas which profoundly influence the adolescent's affective life; but with the child's mentality, except for certain individual glimpses, they can be neither understood nor felt.
>
> In other words, the child does not experience as social feelings anything more than interindividual affects. Even moral sentiments are felt only as a function of unilateral respect (authority) or mutual respect. But beginning at 13-15 years feelings about ideals or ideas are added to the earlier ones (Inhelder and Piaget, 1958).

We could say that our own research examines what Inhelder and Piaget refer to only in passing, namely the development in adolescence of some sort of attachment to abstract ideals. Certainly, the present study provides ample evidence that "notions of humanity and social justice" do not really begin to take hold until around the age of 13--and that such notions undergo considerable refinement between the ages of 13 and 18.

Related Research: Kohlberg's Studies of Moral Development

Hence, although our work is in the general Piagetian framework and tradition, it is actually closest to that of Kohlberg. Kohlberg, (1964, 1969), of course, based his own exploration of moral development on Piaget's pioneering study (1932), but his approach was more systematic and he extended his investigation much further into adolescence. (Piaget observed children between the ages of 7 and 13; Kohlberg's subjects ranged from 7 to 18, and he has followed some of them up to the age of 25.) Kohlberg describes essentially three different levels of moral development: the premoral level, the morality of conventional rule, and the morality of self-accepted principles. When he is functioning at the first level, the child evaluates moral behavior in terms of the direct rewards and punishments such behavior may bring. At the second level, he advocates conformity to conventional rules of right and wrong in order to avoid disapproval or uphold established authorities. And finally, at the third level, he justifies moral actions in terms of the social contract--in terms of upholding human rights and preserving mutual trust. Kohlberg has done extensive cross-national research and has discovered that except for some minor variations, this basic three-tiered pattern appears over and over again.

Though they are not identical, the resemblance between Kohlberg's stages and many of our own coding categories is unmistakeable. Indeed, in the previous section, we suggested that for many of the items on the Desert Island Questionnaire, the responses could be condensed into three distinct levels: a kind of naive moralism (e.g., people who want to become policemen described rather simplistically as "people who love their country."), a transitional "conventional" and "pragmatic" level (e.g., people who want to become policemen described as "people with special training.") and a "principled" level (e.g., Prospective policemen described as "People with a strong sense of justice and duty."). In our work, as in Kohlberg's, there is a progression during adolescence from the naive and simplistic, to the conventional and utilitarian, and finally to the idealistic and formal.

To sum up, then, we have discovered a number of very interesting correlations. The data of the present study correspond very closely to those yielded by our previous research. The pattern of response to the "old" questions on the Desert Island Questionnaire closely resembles the pattern of response to the "new" questions. And finally, our explorations of political thinking and Kohlberg's investigation of moral development have produced comparable results. Hence, while it will take further time and study to construct a thorough-going theoretical framework, we are now well on our way toward delineating a taxonomy of social thought. In the next and concluding section we trace the implications of our findings and briefly offer some recommendations.

Chapter VII

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

One of the main objectives of this study was to validate our previous findings, i.e., to discover if we would observe the pattern of political thinking which dominated our earlier work with a different population of youngsters at a different point in time. We were also, of course, particularly interested in discovering what impact, if any, variables like ethnicity might have on the development of political thinking. At this point, having reviewed the data of the present study, our previous research, and the related work of other researchers, we can begin to draw some conclusions and make recommendations. Essentially, we believe we have gathered considerable support for our assertion that there is a distinctive pattern to the growth of political ideation --indeed, probably of all social ideation--furthermmre, chronological age appears to play a much larger role in determining the outlines of this pattern than factors like race, sex, social class, or area of residence. This basic finding contains a number of implications for the general public, for research, and for educators.

Political sophistication in late adolescence

The present study certainly contradicts the view that political socialization is complete by the end of eighth grade (Easton and Hess, 1962) or that little is added to the youngster's store of political concepts in the course of a high school education (Jennings and Niemi, 1968). Indeed, we can point to very marked changes in political ideation between the sixth and twelfth grades, the sixth graders on the whole showing relatively little comprehension of the political process, twelfth graders demonstrating for the most part a firm grasp of democratic principles and procedures. It is especially important to recall in this connection that we achieved such results with a sample of typical adolescents. The research population in the present study was specifically limited to subjects of average intelligence, a circumstance which makes our data all the more impressive. Judging from our own findings, the Constitutional Amendment lowering the voting age to 18 will not, as some of its opponents claimed, have any dire consequences for the future of the republic. On the contrary, with the exception of a few weak points, the average 18 year old seems well-equipped to assume his new civic responsibilities--and this appears to be true whether he is black or white, male or female, lower class or middle class, a suburbanite or a city dweller.

Education and political socialization

But how are we to account for the 18 year olds political competence and explain the comparative absence of any variation by race, sex, social class, or area? What is it that brings about the remarkable transformation in political thinking between sixth grade and twelfth grade? Up to this point we have hinted at the operation of "maturational factors", but this is to leave the question largely unanwered. The fact that age appears to be the major determinant in the development of political thought during adolescence implies that there are common influences at work, influences which for the most part transcend whatever idiosyncratic experiences a teenager might have had by virtue of his race, sex, soical class, or area of residence. In an earlier publication (Gallatin and Adelson, 1971, pp. 104-105) we attempted a discussion of this sort of global socialization process:

> What our findings point to, we believe, is an integral and highly significant part of a larger development, what Erikson (1959, 1963) has termed the formulation of an ideology: "The adolescent learns to grasp the flux of time, to anticipate the future in a coherent way, to perceive ideas and to assent to ideals, to take-in short-an ideological position for which the younger child is unprepared(1963, p. 417)." The question of course, is why such development takes place only in adolescence, and relatively late in adolescence at that. Until recently, there has been a tendency to attribute the growth of conceptual thinking during the teenage years to "cognitive maturation," the implication being that this was principally a neurological phenomenon and hence inaccessible to further study. Currently, however, though recognizing the difficulties inherent in tracing such development, researchers are beginning to recognize that cognitive abilities do not mature in vacuo, that there is an interaction between what might be termed "cultural expectations" and intellectual capacities. Elkind (1968) exemplifies this new orientation when he observes, "The awareness of the discrepancy between the actual and the possible . . . helps to make the adolescent a rebel. He is always comparing the possible with the actual and discovering that the actual is flagrantly wanting (p. 152)."
>
> Conversely, we suspect that the interaction may work the other way as well, that the adolescent's growing concern and respect for individual freedom is due also to a multitude of pressures and opportunities which encourage him to formulate an increasingly differentiated sense of his own individuality. Indeed, this burgeoning awareness of his own identity, an identity apart from and yet somehow dependent upon other people , is probably the most significant development of the

adolescent period. Judging from the dearth of meaningful research on this topic-despite the large-scale publicity given to"youth" and "identity crises"--it is a phenomenon at present only dimly understood.

But this earlier analysis omitted any specific reference to an influence which must surely play a important role in the shaping political thought. The American school system has traditionally been viewed as a kind of "melting pot" and leveller. This notion has been seriously challenged in recent years and the schools have increasingly been criticized for their alleged deficiencies. However, the fact remains that the public school system was the one common denominator for all the adolescents and preadolescents we interviewed. All of the subjects in our study were being taught social studies in grade school. All of them had certain course requirements in government and American history to fulfill in high school. There were undoubtedly stylistic and curricular differences between one school and another, and, in any case, it is probably impossible to do more than speculate about the impact of education as a whole. Nonetheless, one begins to suspect that the educational system had a great deal to do with bringing about the results we observed in this study. All of our subjects were exposed to at least some common "core curriculum"--no matter what race, sex, social class, or area they belonged to. In other words, we may have observed the results we did because the schools our subjects attended succeeded in doing what American schools have always claimed to do, namely, inculcating a sense of democratic values and ideals "regardless of race, color, or creed," (and we might add, sex, residence, or social class).

Recommendations

In view of our suspicion that the educational system--at least the educational system in our particular area of the country--is primarily responsible for the results of the present study, what recommendations can we make. Certainly, there is little evidence that any severe criticisms are warranted. By all appearances, some agency--most probably the public school system--is doing an adequate job of preparing the typical adolescent for citizenship. There is some scant indication that girls and blacks may lag slightly in their comprehension of certain political issues, but the differences are too modest to cause much concern and would probably be relatively easy to remedy.

To be sure, our study has uncovered a few problem areas and "weak spots." Though we can detect very little support for any sort of violence, the increase of pessimism and cynicism regarding government is somewhat troubling. It is possible that disaffection and idealism go hand in hand and that the American adolescent cannot develop an attachment to certain democratic principles without inevitably becoming aware of how far the society in which he resides falls short of such ideals.

In this connection, we have already cited Elkind's perceptive observation that the adolescent tends to compare "the possible with the actual and discovers that the actual is flagrantly wanting." Then too, the adolescents in our sample may merely be demonstrating an increased awareness of their elders' views. Public opinion polls reveal time and time again that a good many American adults despair of finding solutions for the great social problems of the day. In any case, the feelings of impotence which seem to have affected a substantial proportion of our oldest subjects should be of concern to educators. It may not be possible to change beliefs regarding the remoteness of central government nor the inevitability of crime, poverty, and prejudice. Nonetheless, if these topics have not already been introduced into the general social studies curriculum, they very likely ought to be.

We also remarked earlier that even the 18-year-olds in our sample appeared to be somewhat confused about the purpose and functioning of political parties. Perhaps once again they are simply reflecting the confusion and perplexity of the rest of the electorate during an era in which the traditional party lines are becoming blurred. And here too perhaps one ought to recommend that the social studies curriculum be scrutinized to discern what is actually being taught. Precisely what sort of information does the average civics course provide about the purpose of functioning of political parties? What does it teach about the diverse interests which allegedly influence these partisan bodies--and also how such interests might be shifting at the present time?

Further research into education

But these questions only lead us to our chief recommendation. The present study has provided strong support for our assertion that there is a distinctive pattern to the development of political thinking. However, although we know that this pattern is strongly correlated with age, we have as yet not identified the specific factors which influence it. We suspect that in addition to whatever purely "neurological maturation" goes on during adolescence that the school plays a large role. However, to determine what part education actually plays, we must determine what is being taught. Indeed, one of the problems we have become aware of in carrying out the present study is the extent to which academic researchers and public school teachers have become divorced. In an earlier progress report we remarked:

> In our dealings with school personnel during the past year-and-a-half, we have become increasingly aware that we have only our suspicions about what teachers of social studies actually teach to go on. It seems to us, therefore, that it would be useful to engage a representative group of instructors in some sort of dialogue.... In our initial contacts with school personnel,

we had no actual data or feedback to offer them. However, as the first phase of our present project draws to a close, we will be furnishing the schools which participated in our study with a detailed and comprehensive report. This report will, of course, trace the development of political thinking during the adolescents years, and hence should provide the basis for some productive discussions with teachers. Such discussions, we think, would lend more credibility to any recommendations we might make on the basis of our current and projected research.

Assuming we can identify various curricula and various approaches, studies ought to be performed to determine which most effectively foster an understanding of the political system. To give a rather crude example, one would want to know if high school sophomores and seniors attain "level 3" kinds of political concepts more readily with a "problem-solving" or "traditional, rote-learning approach." Our own data suggest that the former would be more appropriate, but in the absence of systematic studies we cannot know for sure.

In concluding, the most decisive recommendation we can make has to do with the cognitive changes we have observed between sixth and twelfth grade. The success of the social studies program probably depends more than anything else on the school system's awareness of these changes, on its awareness of the average sixth grader's limitations and its appreciation of the average tenth and twelfth grader's comparative sophistication. To the extent that the social studies curriculum capitalizes on these differences--presenting material in a sufficiently concrete and personalized fashion to the younger student and stimulating the problem-solving capacities of the older student--to that extent it will be successful.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

DESERT ISLAND QUESTIONNAIRE - DETROIT VERSION

I am going to ask you some questions about which you will have to use you imagination. I want you to imagine that about a thousand men and women became dissatisfied with the way things were going in their country. They decided to leave the country. They got together and purchased an island in the Pacific to which they moved. As soon as they arrived they realized they would have to set up some sort of government--to make laws, rules and regulations. The questions I'm going to ask you will be about the problems they ran into. Do you understand? Do you have any questions you want to ask before we go on?

(D1) Before we begin, let me ask you this. Using your imagination, why do you think they were unhappy with their country? What made them decide to leave?

(1) The first problem the people on the island had to deal with was the form of government they should have. Since they were starting a new life on the island, they could begin afresh, and work toward an ideal form of government. In talking it over it soon appeared that there were three points of view. Some people believed that the best way to govern the island was for everyone to meet once a week, to talk over the laws, and to vote on them. Others thought it would be best to elect a group of about twenty people who would meet together and decide which laws to pass. And a third point of view was that one leader should be chosen to make the laws for the island; he would be the wisest person and if they weren't satisfied with him, they could elect someone else after a year or so. Now would you think over these three ideas and tell me what is good and what is bad about each one of them?

Comment--Question 1: Repeat alternative if necessary.

(2) Which of these do you think is the best?

(3) Which is the worst?

Comment--Questions 1-3: Make sure to get information on all three alternatives. Younger Ss may be unable to keep all possibilities in mind when discussing the question. Suggested probe: "What about the other one?" or "What about the rest?"

(7) About 20% of the people on the island were farmers, and they were worried that their problems might not be understood by the rest of the people, and that laws might be passed which would damage their interest. Is there any solution for this?

(8) Here's another problem they discussed. Everybody agreed that some laws were necessary. However, some people felt that most laws aren't needed. They said that you could count on people to follow their consciences, and that most people are sensible and good. Others felt the opposite way. They said that when you have people living together you simply had to have a great many laws and rules. Can you tell me what you think of each of these ideas? (Probe for pros and cons of each.)

(8a) What is the purpose of a government?

(9) What is the purpose of laws?

(10) What would happen if there weren't any laws?

(11) What percentage of people need laws to keep them from getting into trouble, and what percentage do you think would follow their consciences naturally and do not need laws?

Comment--Question 11: Younger subjects sometimes cannot keep the entire question in mind, and therefore it often needs repeating. Don't hesitate to repeat it if the child seems confused or uncertain. What you might do is ask the first part of the question, pause and get a response, and then ask the second part of the question.

(12) What's the difference between these two types of people? What makes one person naturally law-abiding and another person of the kind who gets into trouble?

(13) Could you give me some examples of the ways people get into trouble with the law? (Probe to uncover motives for getting into trouble with the law. Suggested phrasing: "Why do you think they do that?")

(14) Now let us take a look at some specific laws that were discussed by the people on the island. To begin with, some people suggested a law which would require children to go to school until they were 16 years old. What would be the purpose of such a law?

(15) What would be the arguments for and against that law?

(16) Would you agree with it?

(17) Suppose you have a parent who says: "My son is going to go into my business anyway, and he doesn't need much schooling for that." Do you think his son should be required to go to school anyway? Why?

(18) Another law was suggested which required all children to be vaccinated against smallpox and polio. What would be the purpose of that law?

Comment--Question 18: Don't push too hard for a complete answer to this question. Your real interest is in Question 20.

(19) Do you agree with that?

(20) There was a small group of people on the island who were members of a religion which was opposed to vaccination. They said that their religious beliefs disapproved of vaccination. What would you do in a case like that? (Probe to obtain a conception of minority rights; also probe to determine how much force they would be willing to have the state use to insure universal vaccination.)

(24) They decided that they would need a public school system on the island, and that they would have to collect taxes to support it. But the people who did not have children thought it was unfair that they would have to pay taxes to support the school system. What do you think of that argument?

(D2) One problem they discussed was how to run the schools. Some people thought that the teachers should be in charge because they knew best what to teach and how to teach it. But others thought that the parents should play an important role in making those decisions. What do you think? (Probe: if S emphasizes teachers' expertise: What part <u>should</u> the parents play?)

(26) Lets' return to some of the laws that were proposed. One was a suggestion that men over 45 be required to have a yearly medical check-up. What do you think of that suggestion? (Probes: Would you be in favor of that? Why, or why not?)

(27) Okay. Here's another law the people of the island proposed: that people paint their houses at least once every five years. What position would you take, and why?

(28a) There are some desirable laws which work a hardship on poor people. For example, there are certain health laws which almost everyone believes are desirable--like requiring regular dental examinations for you children-but which many poorer families would not be able to afford. What should be done in those cases?

Comment--Questions 29--31. Don't vary the phrasing of the questions here. If the subject doesn't understand the meaning you may repeat parts of the question, but don't alter the way it's written.

(29) After a great deal of discussion the people of the island developed a fairly complete system of principles and laws. At this point, another issue arose. There were some who felt that certain laws, such as those guaranteeing freedom of speech, were so important that they should never be changed, and that it should be agreed that no future

government would ever be able to change those laws. On the other hand, there were those who felt that as times change then laws must change, and that there ought to be no laws which future government could not change if they wanted to. What do you think of these arguments?

(30) Could you give me some examples of the kinds of laws that should be permanent and unchangeable?

(31) There were some people who felt that permanent laws such as those guaranteeing freedom of speech, might be a good idea, except in times of war or emergency, such as a riot. They said that when there was a really serious crisis, the government should have the right to suspend all those laws until the emergency was over. What do you think of that?

(32) The people finally voted for a representative system of government--that is, they voted to elect about 20 people who would make laws for the entire island. Before they could do so, however, they had to agree on a way to make sure that the people they elected represented fairly all the people of the island. What would be the best way of doing that?

(33) After this was decided, plans to hold an election were made. What happened then was that two political parties were established to help elect candidates. I want you to imagine why it was that political parties did emerge. (Wait for an answer!)

(34) What is the purpose of political parties?

(35) Do you think we could get along without parties? (Why or why not?)

(36) What are the advantages of having political parties?

(37) What are the disadvantages?

(38) Now I really want you to use your imagination and to tell me what you think those two parties stood for. (Wait for an answer!)

(39) In your opinion, is there much difference between political parties? (Probe for how political differences are conceptualized, and, if possible, determine whether the subject has any sense of the interest which dominate political partisanship. However, younger Ss may be quite confused about political parties: if so, don't probe.)

(40) Now suppose that you were voting in that election. What would you look for in a candidate.

(41) Suppose you were voting in that election and faced this choice: One candidate was better qualified but stood for things in which you do not believe; the other's opinions were the same as yours but he was not as well qualified as the other man. Which of these would you vote for and why?

(42) A group of 20 people was finally elected to govern the island --they were called the Council--and here was one of the first issues they faced: A majority felt that cigarette smoking was undesirable because of its effect on health. The question they asked themselves was what, if anything the government ought to do about it. Should the government forbid smoking or not? What do you think?

(45) Now here's what happened. A majority of the Council voted for a law to forbid smoking with a fine for those caught selling or smoking cigarettes. But the law didn't seem to work. Cigarettes were smuggled onto the island and people smoked secretly. A majority of the Council still believed in forbidding cigarette smoking and the problem they had was how to enforce the law. What do you think they should do in this case?

(48) Here is another problem the Council faced. They decided to build a road to connect one side of the island to the other. For the most part they had no trouble buying the land on which to build the road, but one man refused to sell his land to the government. He was offered a fair price for his land but he refused, saying that he didn't want to move, that he was attached to his land, and that the Council could buy another piece of land and change the direction of the road. Many people thought he was selfish, but others thought he was in the right. What do you think?

(49) The Council met and after long discussion voted that if the land-owner would not agree to give up his land for the road, he should be forced to, because the rights of all the people on the island were more important than his. Do you think this was a fair decision?

(50) The landowner was very sure that he was right. He said that the law was unjust and he would not obey it. He had a shotgun and would shoot anyone who tried to make him get off his land. He seemed to mean business. What should the government do?

(D3) Another problem they had to deal with was what to do about families who did not keep up their property. They did not pick up the trash outside the house, and things like that. What should be done about that?

(D4) Whay are some people that way?

(D5) One thing the Council had to do was to hire some people to be policemen. They found that only certain kinds of people were interested

in that job. What kinds of people were they?

(D6) What kinds of people become policemen in our society?

(D7) They found that many people they thought could do the job did not want it. Why do you think that was?

(D8) The Council then decided that there had to be special rules for how policemen should behave. Why was that?

(D9) What rules should there be?

(D10) Some of the people did not like the police, and did not cooperate with them. Why was that?

(D11) What can be done to make people cooperate more with the police?

(D12) There were some youngsters on the island who were hard to control and were always getting into trouble. What do you think is the cause of that?

(D13) What should be done about that?

(D14) In one case of a boy who was in trouble, the authorities went to talk to the family, but found out that they didn't seem to care very much about the boy. What do you think should be done in a case like that?

(53) Here was another case. A man was caught stealing supplies from his neighbors. He was known to be a lazy fellow and most people who knew him didn't trust him. Some people believed that he ought to be put into jail, but there were others who weren't so sure. They said that just because jail was the usual way of dealing with criminals didn't make it the best way. Perhaps, since the people on the island were starting a new system, they might think of new and better ways to deal with people who got into trouble. What do you think would be the best way to deal with this man?

(54) What would be the best reason for putting people who commit crimes in jail. What would be the best reason against it?

(55) Some people said that the important thing was not to punish people but to teach them not to commit crimes in the future. What would be the best way of doing that?

(56) Most people who go to jail don't seem to learn their lesson, for the great majority end up there again. Why do you think this is?

(57) There were some people who hoped it might be possible, given enough time, to eliminate crime altogether from the island. Do you think it is possible? (Probes: Why? Why not?)

(57a) Do you think it would ever be possible to eliminate poverty? (Why or why not?)

(58) If you had the power to take whatever actions you thought were necessary, what would you do to reduce or eliminate crime?

(D15) After the island society was established for a while, it became clear that some people on the island were poorer than others. What were the reasons for this?

(D16) Here is an example of one kind of problem they had to face. There was one man who could not seem to keep a job. He would be late for work a lot, or would not come in at all. Why do you think he was that way?

(D17) What should they do about him?

(D18) They tried various things, but nothing seemed to help. This man had a family which he could not support because he couldn't hold a job. What do you think ought to happen to them?

(62) As time went on and the new society on the island became more firmly established, it appeared that certain people became especially important and respected. Their opinions carried a lot of weight with others. What kinds of people were they?

(62a) "What kinds of jobs do people of this sort usually have?"

(62b) "What kinds of personalities do these people usually have?"

(D19) At one point in the history of the island, after things were pretty well established, many people felt that, since there was extra land and more than enough jobs, they ought to allow more people to come to the island. The question then arose--what kinds of people should be allowed in? What do you think they might decide?

(D20) What are your own ideas?

(D21) What kinds of people should they keep out?

(D22) Some people thought it would be better to have the new settlers be like the ones who were already on the island--to have the same nationality, to speak the same language, and so on. Others thought it would be better to mix people of different backgrounds. What do you think is better, and why?

(D22a) Do you think that it would ever be possible to eliminate all racial prejudice? (Why or why not?)

(D23) Here's another problem that arose. Some of the people on the island felt that only the well-off and important people were listened to by the Council. They believed that the Council did not pay much attention to the ideas of the average person. Do you think this is true in our society?

(D24) (If "yes" or "maybe") What do you think can be done about it?

(D25) If a group of people wanted to influence the Mayor or the City Council in Detroit, what would be the best way to do it?

(D26) Do you think they would be successful?

(D27) To return to the island: there were a small number of people on the island--about 10%--who felt that they had no say in the government. They were too small a group to elect a Councilman, and they felt that there was no one who cared about the problems on their part of the island. What could they do about it?

(D28) Some of the people became impatient and decided that the only way they could get attention was to go down to the City Hall and sit-in until their demands were met. What do you think about that?

(D29) Suppose they did stage a sit in: What do you think the government should do?

(68) After the island society had been in existence for a number of years, it became apparent that there were too many people living on it. In years when the weather was good there was just enough food to go around. When the crop was poor people went hungry and there was threat of famine. Many different ideas were suggested, but finally it became clear that the only solution was to send back about one-quarter of the population to the country from which they had originally come. No one wanted to go back, but it had to be done. Which people should be sent back?

(69) As we've been talking you may have been thinking over your own ideas about an ideal society and government. Let me ask you one final question: If it were in your power to do whatever you wanted, what kind of society would you set up?

Occupational Data

At this point in the interview say something like the following, "O.K. Now, I have just one more question for you. Could you tell me what your father does for a living?" Have the subject tell you in detail what his father does. If, for instance, he says, "Oh, he works on the line at Ford's." find out precisely what his father does. After, the subject has told you what his father does, find out if his mother has an occupation. (If the subject doesn't have a father, you would also, of course, find out whether his mother has an occupation.) After getting this information, you can thank the subject for his time and participation and move on to the next interview.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adelson, J., Green, G. and O'Neil, R. P. The Development of the Idea of Law in Adolescence. Developmental Psychology, 1, 1969, 327-332.

Adelson, J. and O'Neil, R. P. Growth of Political Ideas in Adolescence: The Sense of Community. J. Personality and Social Psychology, 4, 1966, 295-306.

Beall, L. Political Thinking in Adolescence, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1967.

Bush, M. A Developmental Study of Adolescent Political Thinking, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1970.

Campbell, A., Converse, P.E., Miller, W. E., and Stokes, D.E. The American Voter, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960.

Coleman, J.S. Education and Political Culture. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.

Connell, R. W. The Child's Construction of Politics, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Sydney, 1969.

Connell, R. W. and Goot, M. Science and Ideology in American "Political Socialization" Research, in press.

Dawson, R. and Pruitt, K. Political Socialization. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1969.

Easton, D. and Hess, R. D. Youth and the Political System. In S. M. Lipset and L. Lowenthal (Eds.) Cultural and Social Character. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1961, 226-251.

Easton, D. and Hess, R. D. The Child's Political World. Midwest J. Political Science, 6,1962, 229-246.

Easton, D. and Dennis, J. The Child's Image of Government. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 361, 1965, 40-57.

Elikind, D. Adolescent Cognitive Development. In J.F. Adams (ed.) Understanding Adolescence. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 128-158.

Gallatin, J. The Growth of the Concept of Rights in Adolescence, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1967.

Gallatin, J. and Adelson, J. Individual Rights and the Public Good. Comparative Political Studies, 3, 1970, 226-242.

Gallatin, J. and Adelson, J. Legal Guarantees of Individual Freedom. Journal of Social Issues,27, 1971, 93-108.

Greenstein, F. Children and Politics. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969.

Hess, R.D. and Torney, J.V. The Development of Political Attitudes in Children. New York: Anchor Books, 1968.

Hyman, H. Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1959.

Inhelder, B. and Piaget, J. The Growth of Logical Thinking from Childhood to Adolescence. New York: Basic Books, 1958.

Jennings, M. K. and Niemi, R. G. The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child. The American Political Science Review, 62, 1968, 169-184.

Kohlberg, L. Development of Moral Character and Moral Ideology. Hoffman, J. L. and Hoffman, L.W. (eds.) Review of Child Development Research, Vol. I. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964, 383-431.

Kohlberg, L. and Kramer, R. Continuities and Discontinuities in Childhood and Adult Moral Development. Human Development, 12, 1969, 93-120.

Lane, R. E. Political Life. New York: The Free Press. London: Collier-Macmillan Ltd, 1959.

Langton, K. and Jennings, M. K. Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum. American Political Science Review, 42, 1968, 852-867.

Lansing, M. Personal communication, 1972.

Piaget, J. The Moral Judgment of the Child (1932). New York: Free Press, 1965.

Remmers, H.D. and Radler, D. H. The American Teenager. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957.

Rose, A. The Negro in America. New York: Harper and Row, 1944.